



















J.I. Pease, sc.

*Richard Rush.*

# A RESIDENCE

AT

## THE COURT OF LONDON,

COMPRISING

INCIDENTS, OFFICIAL AND PERSONAL,

FROM 1819 TO 1825 :

AMONGST THE FORMER,

NEGOTIATIONS ON THE OREGON TERRITORY,

AND OTHER UNSETTLED QUESTIONS

BETWEEN THE

UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN.

BY RICHARD RUSH,

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY FROM THE  
UNITED STATES, DURING THE ABOVE YEARS.

SECOND SERIES.

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## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

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WHEN in the Spring of 1833, I threw out a volume of the same general nature with this, I intimated doubts whether the work would be continued; and, as twelve years have elapsed without a continuation of it, whilst the materials have all been in my possession, it may be inferred that those doubts were sincere.

But, of late, the relations between the United States and England, although happily pacific, have been assuming, in some respects, a tone less and less friendly; I do not mean as indicated by any of the official correspondence or intercourse between the two Governments, of which I know too little to speak, but as manifested by public opinion and the press in both countries. International questions of importance to both have been advancing to a point, and have produced public discussions in both, under feelings inauspicious to either party doing justice to the other. The Oregon Question is one of these; and, at the present juncture, perhaps the most important, though

others seem to be only slumbering. I have, therefore, been induced to publish, in connexion with explanatory matter belonging to them, negotiations which I conducted with England, over and above those described in the former volume; and if by doing so, I may be able to contribute a mite towards awakening dispositions to calmer feeling and inquiry on both sides of the water, I shall deem myself truly fortunate.

Continuing the work at all, I continue it on the plan commenced; that is, by interspersing social and personal scenes with those that are official, and for the same reasons. These were given in the remarks "To the Reader" in the former volume, and especially also in the Preface to the Second Edition of it, published in Philadelphia, July 1833, and need not here be repeated. I keep within the same limits, and lay myself under all the restraints established in that volume. In this volume there is rather more both of official and personal matter than in the other; and I have also introduced a little more of the miscellaneous matter of the times, as they are now growing to be in some degree historical. If this kind of companionship should gain for the negotiations and dispatches any better chance of being read than they would otherwise ever be likely to



have, the knowledge of them may possibly have some slight tendency to place two great and kindred nations in truer lights towards each other.

The power, intelligence, and high fashion of the world, are all in favour of peace. The King of the French paid a visit to the Queen of England to foster this great object—towards which the Queen led the way. The Emperor of Russia did the same, “even at a great sacrifice of private convenience.” The Queen, in the speech to her Parliament, from which these last words are taken, cordially acknowledges both visits in the spirit in which they were paid. Shall Republican America, shall this great and rising nation of the New World, be behind Europe in fostering this beneficent spirit? Will England, when she comes fully to weigh the vast value of friendly relations with this country, be less anxious to maintain them, than with the dominions of these Royal and Imperial visitors to her shores? It cannot be that either country will be insensible to this lofty feeling. The King of the French is reported to have said, in reply to an address at Portsmouth on the occasion of his visit to Queen Victoria, that he looked upon the friendship of France and England “*as the keystone of the arch which supported the peace of the*

*world.*” Let the peace between the United States and England be broken, and who does not perceive that the arch would as certainly tumble to pieces?

Far off be such a calamity! With the wisdom, of which the present Premier of Britain has given so many proofs, and the wisdom which will govern the Councils of the United States, a rupture between the two nations is surely not to be anticipated; against which their own highest interests, and the interests of the world, so powerfully plead.

As regards the personal scenes recorded in this volume, I will just remark, that, throughout the pages of the former volume, more than one hundred names are mentioned. Coupled with most of them, portions of conversations were given in guarded ways; and other allusions made to private life in the mansions and circles of England, which I frequented. Nevertheless, though the book has been so many years before the public, no complaint has ever reached me, directly or indirectly, from any one of those sources; from which I infer, that the guards I imposed upon myself were considered sufficient, as I intended they should be. If similar guards were not kept up in this volume it should never go to the press. I have been to England since the publication of the former

volume, and had renewed intercourse with individuals and families mentioned in it; and I cannot here refrain from saying, that, but for the entire chasm of more than two years which occurs in the present volume, and the absorbing nature of the public negotiations which fill its latter pages, names not appearing in them would have found a place, merely that I might have had the satisfaction of recording my feelings under kind and gratifying hospitalities received from them. Sir George Staunton, Mr. Guillemard, the Duke of Somerset, Sir Alexander Johnson, Mr. Henry St. George Tucker, Mr. Basil Cochrane, the late Earl of Morton and the Buller family, the Countess of Mengden, Sir Coutts Trotter, the late Earl of Clarendon — these are some of the names not absent from my grateful recollections.

Nor has the substantial fidelity of the former volume in other respects, ever been impaired. My great aim has been to impart to the present volume the same character for truth; and this will be my compensation for the many defects and imperfections otherwise to be seen in both. “When I read only a page of a great author, I feel humbled in the dust under all views of authorship.” If Horace Walpole said this, tenfold more need have I to say and feel it.

Some inadvertences in things not very material, found their way into the former volume ; but I would fain hope that the sum of them did not trench upon that essential authenticity which is the sole merit I dare claim for the work, whether in the official or personal incidents which it recounts.

If it should be perceived that, in the present volume, I have occasionally been more minute, perhaps, in some parts, than before, I must hope to shield myself under the remark of an eminent writer, "that even minute things, where they concern great characters, seem to quit their nature and become things of consequence ; besides that they bring us nearer to the times and persons they describe." Being farther off, now, from the times and persons described than when I ventured upon the former volume, I have the cover of this remark while endeavouring to bring back social scenes and manners in a little more detail.

I have written in the unchanged tone of good feeling towards England and her great names, marking the former volume, and which I desire to cherish as long as we can honorably keep at peace with her ; never supposing that this feeling may not be cherished in subordination to that primary and constant love for his own land, which every American must ever



feel, and glory in feeling. Who looks, therefore, in these limited pages, for an exhibition of those things in England open to crimination in the complicated system which goes to make up the mighty aggregate of good and evil in her national character and condition, will not find them ; and, in fact, they are so abundantly exhibited by a portion of the writers always existing in her own country, as well as by writers in other countries, that their omission from a single book, if only as novelty, need scarcely be complained of ; any more than that the very little which is said, purporting to be characteristic at all, is on the fair side ; which, though rarely held up, may also be true.

RICHARD RUSH.

Sydenham, near Philadelphia,  
April, 1845.



A RESIDENCE AT  
THE COURT OF LONDON.

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CHAPTER I.

INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH ON THE AFFAIRS OF SPANISH AMERICA.—DINNER, AT THE PORTUGUESE AMBASSADOR'S, TO THE ARCHDUKE MAXIMILIAN OF AUSTRIA.—RELATIVE EXPENSE OF THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN ARMY AND NAVY.

February 12th, 1819. HAD an interview with Lord Castlereagh at his private residence, St. James's Square, on the affairs of Spanish America.

I informed him that I had received a dispatch from my Government on that subject, and had sought an interview with him, to make known its nature and object. It set out with stating that the United States continued to consider the controversy between Spain and her colonies in the light of a civil war, and then proceeded to show the duty of a neutral state towards the parties. Next, it showed that the conduct



of the United States had, in point of fact, conformed to this duty, as far as had been practicable. It spoke of the mediation invoked by Spain for the settlement of the dispute, bringing into view what had also been the uniform course of the United States in relation to that mediation. The dispatch, after dwelling upon the progress which some of the newly-formed states in Spanish America had made towards an independent existence, gave in to the hope that the time was rapidly approaching, if it had not actually arrived, when the British Government and the powers of Europe generally, might perhaps see their own interests, as well as those of Spain, and the fair interests of the new states, in such a recognition of the latter, as would bring them within the pale of nations. Finally it declared, that as regarded Buenos Ayres, the President had come to the determination to grant an exequatur to a consul-general who had been appointed by the government of that new state, as long ago as May last, to reside in the United States; or to recognise in some other way its independence, should nothing transpire in the meantime to justify a postponement of his intention.

After this general summary of the essential points, I read to his Lordship the dispatch itself.

Some parts of it appeared to take him by surprise. They were those which seemed to import that the Government of England was at bottom inclining to our view of the subject, as regarded the recognition of the Colonies. He said he was not aware upon what occasion he had uttered sentiments leading to this impression, and, at any rate, none such had been intended. He remarked, on the contrary, that while Great Britain had, from the first, anxiously desired to see the controversy between Spain and her Colonies at an end, and had done her best to effect this result, it had always been upon the basis of a restoration of the supremacy of Spain, on an improved plan of government indeed, especially as regarded the commercial interests of the Colonies, but still her entire supremacy; that he thought this mode of ending the conflict, besides being the one pointed out to England by the subsisting relations between herself and Spain, would prove best for both parties, and for other countries, as the materials of regular self-government among the Colonies did not appear to exist; which made it impossible to fore-know in what manner they would be able to sustain themselves as independent communities, whether as regarded their own happiness and prosperity, or the principles which

might affect their intercourse with other nations. These he said had been the leading motives with England for wishing that the Colonies might be brought back again under the authority of the parent state; motives which still had their operation, and must continue, as long as any reasonable expectation was left of the result at which they aimed being accomplished. The intervention of *force* as a means of its accomplishment, England had ever repudiated, as he formerly told me, and still did; the moral power of opinion and advice being the sole ground upon which she had acted hitherto, he admitted to no effective purpose. It was upon this basis, however, that she had agreed to become party to the mediation he had made known to me last summer, and the relations which bound her to the Allied Powers, as well as to Spain, held her to this course, to whatever extent the counsels and conduct of Spain appeared to frustrate or retard the hope of success. He remarked, that things stood upon the same general footing now as then, in regard to the mediation; it had been acceded to by the European alliance, but nothing had been effected; the subject had been brought into discussion at Aix-la-Chapelle, during the Congress of Sovereigns in November, but no act followed; Spain seemed bent upon



continuing the war with her own means, and clung to the hope of bringing it to a close upon her own terms. He said that, during the discussions at Aix-la-Chapelle, he had found France and Prussia laboring under a belief that the United States desired to be associated in the mediation, and willing to accede to it on the same basis with the European powers, until he had undeceived them, which my communications to him in July had enabled him to do. He particularly mentioned that the Duke of Richelieu had previously been very decided in that belief. His Lordship expressed regret that the United States viewed the question of Independence in the Colonies differently from England; giving as a reason the probable weight of their counsels with the Colonies; so that, although my Government was no formal party to the mediation, if, nevertheless, it had harmonized in opinion with that of England on the question of Independence, the hope would have been increased of seeing the dispute healed the sooner through the influence which, from local and political causes, the United States might naturally be supposed to have with the Colonies. How far it was practicable to settle it, giving back to Spain her supremacy, and granting to the Colonies a just government under her sway,

was not for him to say ; but it was the hope to which the European alliance still clung.

He admitted that Buenos Ayres had given better proofs of capacity to exist as an independent community than any of the other Colonies ; and he fully admitted, also, the present and prospective value of our commerce in that quarter, when I mentioned to him that it consisted, on our side, of such articles as naval stores, ready-built vessels, furniture, timber, and fish,—without enumerating others. The whole tone of his conversation was conciliatory, and he said, in conclusion, that the frank disclosure I had made to him of the President's views and intentions, would be received by his Majesty's Government in the friendly spirit in which it had been made.

This was my first interview with his Lordship since the arrival and publication in England of the dispatch which Mr. Adams had addressed to Mr. Erving, our Minister at Madrid, on the 28th of November, relating to the transactions of our army in Florida under General Jackson, and the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. It had been sent to Congress the latter end of December, with other documents on that whole subject ; all of which had been published. The dispatch of Mr. Adams, as an authentic view of the whole, had

excited attention in diplomatic circles, and I was not sure that his Lordship might not allude to it ; but he did not, nor did I. The names of the two men executed were glanced at, in the course of the interview, in an incidental manner. He was remarking that, notwithstanding the neutrality of England, as between Spain and her Colonies, the latter had undoubtedly received aid from England in arms, ammunition, and men, in ways which the English laws could not prevent. This led him to speak of the order of the Court of Madrid, of the 14th of January, in which heavy penalties were denounced against all subjects of Foreign States who joined the standard of the Colonists. He said that this order had been very much felt by France ; but he added, that England gave herself no concern about it, to whatever commentary the principles on which it assumed to rest, might be open. Those of our subjects, said he, who choose to join the Colonists, must take all consequences ; they go at their own risk ; we can hold out no hand to protect them, any more than we thought ourselves bound to do in the case of the two men who intermeddled with the Indians along your borders. Such was his frank allusion to the case. His Lordship hinted at an intention which had, for awhile, partially existed, of



bringing a bill into Parliament to check the aid which the Colonists derived from England, founded on the principle of our acts of Congress; but remarked, that it had hitherto been abandoned, from difficulties found to attend any attempt to reconcile with all other parts of their system of law any new prohibitory statutes upon this subject.

February 14th. Dined at Count Palmella's, the Ambassador from Portugal, to whom Mr. Adams had given me a letter. His residence, in South Audley Street, No. 74, is in a house which has been eighty years in the possession of the Portuguese embassy at London.

The dinner was given to the Archduke Maximilian, brother to the Emperor of Austria. Besides this Prince and his suite, consisting of several officers in the Austrian service, there were present the Spanish Ambassador, and the Ambassador from the Netherlands; the Danish, Neapolitan, and Saxon Ministers; M. De Neuman, of the Austrian embassy; Baron Bulow of the Prussian; the Duke of Wellington; Mr. Vansittart, Chancellor of the Exchequer;\* Lord Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty; and Lord Lynedoch, formerly General Graham, distinguished in the Peninsular war.

On being introduced to the Archduke

\* Afterwards Lord Bexley.



Maximilian, he spoke of the United States, introducing the subject himself, and addressing me in English. Lord Melville took occasion to say to me, that the Spanish Ambassador was making frequent complaints to the British Cabinet of aid sent from English ports to the Spanish Colonies, and calling for a stop to be put to it; which, he added, it was extremely difficult to do. I said that our Secretary of State probably received as many complaints from the Spanish Minister at Washington: arms, ammunition, and military stores were, without doubt, sometimes exported through evasions of our laws, impossible to be prevented, and Spain was too weak on the ocean to capture them on their way to the Colonies as contraband, which she was at liberty to do, if able. Here was the difficulty, and the law-breakers knew it.

At dinner, I sat between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord Lynedoch. Speaking of the property-tax, the former mentioned that the four largest incomes in the kingdom, as returned under it while in operation, were those of the Duke of Northumberland, Earl Grosvenor, the Marquis of Stafford, and the Earl of Bridgewater; these, he said, were the richest Peers in England, and there were no Commoners whose incomes were returned as large. They each went beyond one hundred

thousand pounds, clear of everything.\* Many incomes among the Peers, and several among Commoners of large landed estates, approached these in amount ; but none came up to them according to the official returns.

Remarking that I found it difficult to arrive at the precise extent of the poor-rates from the published accounts, I asked their amount. He said that in some counties, as Sussex for instance, they were as high as eight shillings in the pound ; and that they probably amounted to about eight millions sterling for all England. We spoke again of the army of England ; he said that the whole expense of keeping it up at present (one hundred thousand men), was about eight millions sterling, all military pensions included ; and added, that it was about as much in pounds sterling as the expense of keeping up the army of the United States (ten thousand men at that time) was in dollars. This he explained, in part as formerly, by mentioning the very great preponderance of artillery in our army on a peace establishment, relative numbers considered. He remarked that our navy was also much more expensive than the British, which he ascribed to our having the best of every-

\* The increasing productiveness of agricultural and mining industry in England since the above date, has, it is understood, doubled some of these incomes.

thing in it. This was said with his usual courtesy; though I suppose another, and probably a stronger, cause to be, that we have not yet arrived at the true practice of economy,—one of the last attainments of experience and skill in armies and navies, when united with comfort and efficiency. Some of the battles of the Peninsula were touched upon: the Duke of Wellington sat opposite to us, and it was remarked how fortunate it had been for England that he was not sent to America after the peace of Paris in 1814. I inferred, that there had been an intention of sending over the Duke to command in the war against the United States; and I afterwards heard, more distinctly, that this measure was in contemplation.

After dinner I had conversation with the Spanish Ambassador and the Neapolitan Minister. With the former it was limited to ordinary civilities; the latter said handsome things of Mr. Adams's letter to Mr. Erving, and seemed anxious to learn if England had taken any serious exception to the proceedings of our army in Florida, and the execution of the two British subjects. I said that she had not. "Then," said he, "the newspapers *may go on to bark*; they bark dreadfully in England, but the Ministers don't mind them."

## CHAPTER II.

THE OLD BAILEY, GUILDHALL, AND DOCTORS' COMMONS.—  
OPINION DELIVERED BY SIR WILLIAM SCOTT, JUDGE OF  
THE HIGH COURT OF ADMIRALTY.

February 22. WENT to the Old Bailey. Nothing of much consequence was before the court. A prisoner was on trial for an assault with intent to kill.

Immediately facing the dock, where the witnesses stand, I observed the following inscriptions, printed conspicuously in panel work on the wall:—

“A false witness shall not be unpunished, and he that speaketh lies shall perish.”—Psalms.

“Ye shall not swear by my name falsely, neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God.”—Psalms.

“If a false witness rise up against any man to testify against him that which is wrong, then thou shalt do unto him as he had thought to have done unto his brother.”—Deut. 19th chap., 16 and 17 verses.



I went next to Guildhall, where the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas hold their sittings for the trial of issues; but neither happened to be in session. Over the outside door of the building was the inscription, "DOMINE DIRIGE NOS."

In the great hall stand monuments to the Earl of Chatham, Mr. Pitt, and Lord Nelson. A remarkable portion of the inscription on the first, has been noticed in the 16th chapter of the former volume of this work. That on the monument of Mr. Pitt concludes with these words, viz., "HE DISPENSED FOR TWENTY YEARS THE FAVORS OF THE CROWN, LIVED WITHOUT OSTENTATION, AND DIED POOR." I next took a bird's-eye view of three of the Inns of Court, Bernard's Inn, the Inner Temple, and Middle Temple, so associated with sages and ornaments of the law; made short visits to the Custom House, the Royal Exchange, and Stock Exchange, and to Lord Nelson's tomb at St. Paul's, all which the guide-books describe better than I could, and hastened home to receive a party engaged to dine at my house, on this anniversary of Washington's birth-day. It was composed of members of the diplomatic corps, and several of my countrymen in London; also Mr. John Penn, of Spring Garden, descendant of the founder of Pennsylvania.



We had the toast belonging to the day; and what enlightened man of any nation can fail to do homage to the great name of Washington?

At 12 at night, when our guests had left us, we went to a party at the Marchioness of Salisbury's, Arlington-street, and afterwards to a masquerade at the Opera. At the latter, we were in dominoes, as lookers-on at a scene new to us in Europe.

February 26. Went to Doctors' Commons, in the hope of seeing Sir William Scott upon the Bench, and was not disappointed. I had read the most of his decisions, and had the high opinion of his talents common to all. A salvage case was before the court. The counsel were, Sir Christopher Robinson, Dr. Lushington, Dr. Bernaby, and Dr. Dodd, each of whom spoke. In delivering his opinion, Sir William Scott dwelt upon the merit of the salvors, and ended with a decree, that one twentieth of the cargo should be awarded to them.

There is a precision and elegance in the recorded opinions of this celebrated Judge of the High Court of Admiralty in England, which induced the Marquis of Lansdowne once to say of them in the House of Commons, when Lord Henry Petty, that they might be studied as

models of classic style, apart from their learning and ability. I had, therefore, been waiting with curiosity to hear him deliver his opinion. It disappointed me; perhaps because expectation had been raised too high. It was extemporaneous, or delivered without any notes that were perceptible from my position; neither was it long; but his elocution did not appear to me the best; his manner was hesitating; his sentences more than once got entangled, and his words were sometimes recalled, that others might be substituted.

But labor, it would seem, must be the condition of all high excellence; from which the genius of this great jurist claimed no exemption. At a subsequent day in England, on one of the many occasions when it was my good fortune to be at the hospitable table of Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Mr. Coleridge was of the company. Sir William Scott being spoken of, and my admiration of his talents expressed, under the salvo that we, in the United States, could not always accede to his doctrines on neutral rights, Mr. Coleridge said, that nothing could exceed the care with which he wrote out and corrected his opinions; that to the decree, as orally pronounced in court, he of course held himself bound; but the language and arrangement he would vary at pleasure. Not only

would he change words while the opinion was passing through the press, but reconstruct whole sentences ; and an instance was alluded to in which, after an anxious correction of the proof sheet, and a revise after that, the type was nearly all pulled down to be set up again for some better transposition of the sentences, or improved juxtaposition of the testimony, at the last moments before publication. Such was the severe judgment, even in matters of style, of this chaste scholar and profound jurist.

“ How finish'd with illustrious toil, appears  
This small, well-polish'd gem, the work of years !”

## CHAPTER III.

INTERVIEW WITH THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE AND MR. WILBERFORCE ON THE SUBJECT OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.— OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH ON THIS SUBJECT.

March 4. THE Marquis of Lansdowne and Mr. Wilberforce call upon me on the business of the slave-trade. The former had written me a note requesting the interview, and I named to-day.

He said that, knowing the real anxiety of the United States to see the downfall of the slave-trade, the object of his and Mr. Wilberforce's call upon me, which he remarked was made in their private capacities, was, to know whether I thought any mode remained by which the co-operation of my Government with the plan proposed to it by Great Britain for suppressing the trade, could still be obtained; adding, that he believed no step would be omitted here which might promise the least hope of such a result; and further remarking, that it was only of my own unofficial opinion



that they desired to receive an intimation, if not objectionable with me to impart it. This opened the door to general conversation on the whole subject, in which they both took part. His Lordship dwelt upon the advantages which might be expected to flow from the co-operation of the United States towards suppressing the traffic, as so prominent a commercial and maritime power of the world; and expressed his strong belief that the example of their union with England could scarcely fail to produce, sooner or later, an important influence upon other nations. His direct inquiry was, whether I thought, that if an Act of Parliament were to pass, constituting all participation in the slave-trade by British subjects piracy, upon which an address might afterwards be framed by both Houses of Parliament to the Crown, requesting it to renew the proposal recently made to the United States, there would be any reason to suppose that they could be brought to yield, under such a modification of the overture, and upon such a basis, the right of search; or whether it would be best for Great Britain to pass such an Act of her own accord, and leave to the operation of time its effect upon other nations.

It is hardly necessary for me to speak of Lord Lansdowne as a distinguished and leading



member of the Whig party in the House of Peers; or as having shown a desire to carry forward in that body the anti-slave-trade cause; or, I may add, as a nobleman possessing in an eminent degree the respect and esteem of the party to which he is opposed, while enjoying the entire confidence of his own. It would be as superfluous to speak of the philanthropy of Mr. Wilberforce, or of his long and zealous exertions in the House of Commons and otherwise, to put an end to the slave-trade. The aid of such members to any plans of the Ministry on this subject, (Mr. Wilberforce not being regularly of the ministerial party,) might well be supposed to secure a support nearly, if not entirely, unanimous in both Houses of Parliament; and hence, probably, the inducement with both these gentlemen, in union with their own sincere zeal in the cause, to this call upon me.

In reply, I said that, speaking for the United States without any authority, but giving only my own private impressions, I should say that the latter course would be best; that is, for England to pass the piracy act suggested, as on her own independent footing, and leave its effects to time. The United States would, in like manner, act upon their independent views in a cause to the principles of which they had

already and long shown their devotion by substantial acts of legislation; followed up by every step practicable, to render their legislation effective. I adverted to the constitutional grounds which, in themselves, formed an impediment to their assent to the proposed naval co-operation with Great Britain, and to our general objections to the right of search. With all my present impressions I was forced to say, that I did not think that the United States would be willing to subject their flag to the innovation proposed, in time of peace; there were so many recollections, fresh and painful, connected with the searching of their vessels on the high seas by the naval officers of Britain, that the renewal of the practice, under whatever circumstances or for whatever purposes, might naturally be expected to encounter strong dislike all over our country.

This is the substance of what passed on both sides during a conversation which lasted about an hour. I mixed with the expression of my sentiments all the conciliation towards England proper in itself, and which their own manner inspired.

A few days before these gentlemen called, Lord Castlereagh had sent me a parliamentary document, comprising a variety of papers relative to the slave-trade, which exhibited all that

had then lately been done by the powers of Europe on the subject. Amongst them was also the note to me from his Lordship of the 20th of June, 1818, one from me in answer of the 23rd of the same month, and a second from me to his Lordship of the 21st of December, 1818. As the first of these notes constitutes the first approach ever made by England to the United States for concerted naval operations for suppressing the slave-trade, perhaps this may be a fit place for inserting it, together with my notes in reply. These will show the subject historically between the two Governments. It was followed up between them, in my hands, on the part of our Government, until near the close of my mission, as future parts of this work will show, when my connexion with it ceased. The subject, at last, ended in the eighth article of the Treaty of Washington in 1842, negotiated by Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton, which provides that each nation shall keep in service, on the coast of Africa, a squadron of not less than eighty guns, to act for the suppression of the trade, in manner as the article points out—the article being liable to annulment at the desire of either party, after the expiration of five years.

His Lordship's first note to me, was as follows :—

Foreign Office, June 20th, 1818.

SIR :

The distinguished share which the Government of the United States has, from the earliest period, borne in advancing the cause of abolition,\* makes the British Government desirous of submitting to their favourable consideration whatever may appear to them calculated to bring about the final accomplishment of this great work of humanity.

The laudable anxiety with which you personally interest yourself in whatever is passing upon this important subject, will have led you to perceive that, with the exception of the Crown of Portugal, all European states have now either actually prohibited the traffic in slaves to their subjects, or fixed an early period for its cessation; whilst Portugal has also renounced it to the north of the equator. From May, 1820, there will not be a flag which *can legally* cover this detested traffic to the north of the line, and there is reason to hope that the Portuguese may also ere long be prepared to abandon it to the south of the equator; but so long as some effectual concert is not established amongst the principal maritime powers for preventing their respective flags

\* This word, as here used, meant abolition of the slave-trade.



from being made a cover for an illicit slave-trade, there is but too much reason to fear (whatever be the state of the law upon this subject), that the evil will continue to exist, and, in proportion as it assumes a contraband form, that it will be carried on under the most aggravating circumstances of cruelty and desolation.

It is from a deep conviction of this truth, founded upon experience, that the British Government, in all its negotiations upon this subject, has endeavoured to combine a system of alliance for the suppression of this most abusive practice, with the engagements which it has succeeded in lately contracting with the Governments of Spain and Portugal for a total, or partial, abolition of the slave-trade. I have now the honor to enclose to you copies of the treaties which have been happily concluded with those powers, together with the acts which have recently passed the Legislature for carrying the same into execution.

I have also the satisfaction to transmit to you a copy of a treaty which has been recently concluded with the King of the Netherlands for the like purpose, though at too late a period in the Session to admit of its provisions receiving the sanction of Parliament. I am induced the more particularly to call your



attention to this convention, as it contains certain provisions which are calculated to limit, in some respects, the powers mutually conceded by the former treaties, in a manner which, without essentially weakening their force, may render them more acceptable to the contracting parties.

The intimate knowledge which you possess of this whole subject, renders it unnecessary for me, in requesting you to bring these documents to the observation of your Government, to accompany them with any more detailed explanation ; what I have *earnestly* to beg of you is, to bring them under the serious consideration of the President, intimating to him the strong wish of the British Government, that the exertions of the two states may be combined upon a somewhat similar principle, in order to put down this great moral disobedience, wherever it may be committed, to the laws of both countries. I am confident this cannot effectually be done, except by mutually conceding to each other's ships of war a qualified right of search, with a power of detaining the vessels of either state with *slaves actually on board*.

You will perceive in these conventions a studious, and I trust a successful attempt, to narrow and limit this power within due bounds,

and to guard it against perversion. If the American Government is disposed to enter into a similar concert, and can suggest any further regulations the better to obviate abuse, this Government will be most ready to listen to any suggestion of this nature; their only object being to contribute, by every effort in their power, to put an end to this disgraceful traffic.

I have the honour to be, with great truth,  
Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

CASTLEREAGH.

Richard Rush, Esq., &c.

The italics are as used in the original note.

The following was my first answer :—

London, June 23rd, 1818. 51, Baker Street.

MY LORD :

I have been honoured with your note of the 20th of this month, enclosing copies of treaties recently concluded between this Government and the Governments of Portugal, Spain, and the Netherlands respectively, in relation to the slave-trade, and designed to draw the attention of the Government of the United States to this subject with a view to its co-operation, upon principles similar to those held out in these treaties, in measures that may

tend to the more complete and universal abolition of the trade.

The United States, from an early day of their history, have regarded with uniform abhorrence the existence of a traffic attended by such complications of misery and guilt. Its transcendant evils roused throughout all ranks a corresponding zeal for their extirpation ; one step followed another until humanity triumphed, and against the continuance of the trade in any shape by their own citizens, the most absolute prohibitions of their laws have, for a period of more than ten years, been rigorously, and it is hoped effectually, levelled. This allusion to the earnest efforts of the United States to put down the traffic within their own limits, merely falls in with the tribute your Lordship has so justly paid to their early exertions in helping to dry up this prolific source of human woe.

Whether any causes may throw obstacles in the way of their uniting in that concert of external measures in which Europe generally, and this nation in particular, are now so happily engaged, the more effectually to banish from the world this great enormity, I dare not, in the absence of all instructions, presume to intimate ; much less have I any opinion of my own to offer upon a subject so full of delicacy

and interest. But it is left for me to say, that I shall perform a grateful duty in transmitting, by the earliest opportunity, copies of your Lordship's note, and the documents which accompanied it, to my Government; and I sufficiently know the permanent sensibility which pervades all its counsels upon this subject to promise, that the overture which the former embraces, will receive from the President the full consideration due to its importance, and to the enlarged philanthropy on the part of this Government by which it has been dictated.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, your Lordship's obedient faithful Servant,

RICHARD RUSH.

The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh,  
His Majesty's principal Secretary of State  
for Foreign Affairs.

His Lordship's note and the documents were promptly forwarded to my Government, and on receiving its instructions, I addressed to him the note following: viz.,

The undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, has the honor to present his compliments to Lord Castlereagh.

In the note of the 23rd of June, which the undersigned had the honor to address to his



Lordship in answer to his Lordship's communication of the 20th of the same month, relative to the slave trade, the undersigned had great pleasure in giving the assurance that he would transmit a copy of that communication to his Government, with the documents which accompanied it, being copies of treaties entered into, on the part of Great Britain, with Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands, for the more complete abolition of the odious traffic in slaves. He accordingly lost no time in fulfilling that duty, and has now the honor to inform his Lordship of the instructions with which he has been furnished by his Government in reply.

He has been distinctly instructed, in the first place, to make known the sensibility of the President to the friendly spirit of confidence in which these treaties and the legislative measures founded upon them, have been communicated to the United States; and to the invitation which has been given that they would join in the same or similar arrangements, the more effectually to accomplish the beneficent object to which they look. He is further commanded to give the strongest assurances, that the solicitude of the United States for the universal extirpation of this traffic, continues with all the earnestness which has so long and steadily distinguished the course



of their policy in relation to it. Of their general prohibitory law of 1807, it is unnecessary that the undersigned should speak, his Lordship being already apprized of its provisions; amongst which the authority to employ the national force as auxiliary to its execution will not have escaped attention. But he has it in charge to make known, as a new pledge of their unremitting and active desire for the abolition of the slave-trade, that, so lately as the month of April last, another Act of Congress was passed, by which not only are the citizens and vessels of the United States interdicted from carrying on, or being in any way engaged in the trade, but in which also the best precautions that legislative enactments can devise, or their penalties enforce, are raised up against the introduction into their territories, of slaves from abroad under whatever pretext attempted, and especially from dominions which lie more immediately in their neighbourhood. A copy of this act is herewith enclosed for the more particular information of his Lordship. That peculiarity in the eighth section which throws upon a defendant the labor of proof as the condition of acquittal, the undersigned persuades himself will be regarded as signally manifesting an anxiety to suppress the hateful traffic, departing as it

does, from the principle of criminal jurisprudence which so generally requires the independent and positive establishment of guilt as the first step in criminal prosecutions. To measures of such a character, thus early adopted and steadily pursued, the undersigned is further commanded to say, that the Government of the United States, acting within the pale of its constitutional powers, will always be ready to superadd any others that experience may prove to be necessary for attaining the desirable end in view.

But on examining the provisions of the treaties which your Lordship honored the undersigned by communicating to him, it has appeared to the President, that their essential articles are of a character not adapted to the circumstances or to the institutions of the United States.

The powers agreed to be given to the ships of war of either party, to search, capture, and carry into port for adjudication, the merchant vessels of the other, however qualified, is connected with the establishment, by each treaty, of two mixed courts, one of which is to have its seat in the colonial possessions of the parties respectively. The institution of such tribunals is necessarily regarded as fundamental to the whole arrangement, whilst their peculiar

structure is doubtless intended, and would seem to be indispensable, towards imparting to it a just reciprocity. But to this part of the system the United States, having no Colonies upon the coast of Africa, in the West Indies, or elsewhere, cannot give effect.

Moreover, the powers of government in the United States, whilst they can only be exercised within the grants, are also subject to the restrictions of the federal constitution. By the latter instrument, all judicial power is to be vested in a Supreme Court, and in such other inferior courts, as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. It further provides, that the judges of these courts shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and be removable on impeachment and conviction of crimes and misdemeanors. There are serious doubts whether, obeying the spirit of these injunctions, the Government of the United States would be competent to appear as party to the institution of a court for carrying into execution their penal statutes in places out of their own territory; a court consisting partly of foreign judges, not liable to impeachment under the authority of the United States, and deciding upon their statutes without appeal.

Again: obstacles would exist towards giving validity to the disposal of the negroes found

on board the slave-trading vessels, condemned by the sentence of the mixed courts. If they should be delivered over to the Government of the United States as freemen, they could not, but by their own consent, be employed as servants or free laborers. The condition of negroes and other people of colour in the United States, being regulated by the municipal laws of the separate States, the Government of the former could neither guarantee their liberty in the States where they could only be received as slaves, nor control them in the States where they would be recognized as free. The provisions of the fifth section of the Act of Congress which the undersigned has the honor to enclose, will be seen to point to this obstacle, and may be taken as still further explanatory of its nature.

These are some of the principal reasons which arrest the assent of the President to the very frank and friendly overture contained in your Lordship's communication. Having their foundation in constitutional impediments, the Government of his Britannic Majesty will know how to appreciate their force. It will be seen how compatible they are with the most earnest wishes on the part of the United States that the measures concerted by these treaties may bring about the total downfall of the



traffic in human blood, and with their determination to co-operate to the utmost extent of their constitutional power towards this great consummation, so imperiously due at the hands of all nations to the past wrongs and sufferings of Africa.

The undersigned prays Lord Castlereagh to accept the assurances of his distinguished consideration.

RICHARD RUSH.

London, December 21st, 1818.

It was to the non-assent conveyed in this last note, that Lord Lansdowne had reference, when he made his inquiries as to the hope of removing it on the ground stated. It will be seen hereafter to what extent, and upon what conditions, the United States yielded up their refusal. One of the parliamentary documents sent to me by Lord Castlereagh, attests how unequivocal had been the refusal of France, at that epoch, to allow her vessels to be boarded and searched at sea for slaves. Nevertheless, it would appear, from a passage in a note from his Lordship to Lord Bathurst, dated the 10th of December, at Paris—the last paper in the series—that the former still indulged a sanguine expectation that the French Government might be brought, at no distant day, to reconsider its refusal.



## CHAPTER IV.

WEEKS'S MUSEUM—ITS EXTRAORDINARY COLLECTION.—ROYAL CHAPEL, WHITEHALL.—LEVEE AT CARLTON HOUSE.—AUSTRIAN COURT AT THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA.—INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH ON SPANISH AMERICAN AFFAIRS AND OTHER SUBJECTS.—THE CASES OF ARBUTHNOT AND AMBRISTER TO BE BROUGHT BEFORE PARLIAMENT.—DINNER AT THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE'S.—SIR JAMES MACINTOSH.—VOTE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES REFUSING TO CENSURE GENERAL JACKSON.—NEWS OF THE CESSION OF THE FLORIDAS TO THE UNITED STATES ARRIVES IN LONDON.—NOTE TO LORD CASTLEREAGH, ON EXTRA DUTIES CHARGED ON VESSELS OF THE UNITED STATES.

March 5. VISIT Weeks's Museum, in Tichborne Street, which consists chiefly of specimens of mechanism. There were birds that not only sung, but hopped from stick to stick in their cages; there were mice made of pearl, that could run about nimbly; there were human figures of full size playing on musical instruments, in full band—though neither musicians, nor mice, nor birds, had a particle of life in them. There were silver swans swimming in water, serpents winding themselves

up trees, tarantulas running backwards and forwards—all equally without life; in short, a collection too numerous and curious for me to attempt to describe. There were clocks of curious workmanship, and in great variety. Besides being musical, some of them, in the shape of temples, were ornamented in the richest manner. The proprietor said that his collection in clocks alone was of the value of thirty thousand pounds sterling. His entire collection he valued at four hundred thousand pounds. It was prepared for the Chinese market, where such articles would be in demand at the prices he put upon them; so he confidently said, though valuing some of his birds at a thousand guineas a-piece. He said that the Government of China would not permit the English to have intercourse with them for such purposes, and seemed to be in present despair; but he added, that “one of these days England will oblige China to receive her wares, by making her feel the strong arm of her power.” The outside of this museum, looks like a common shop for umbrellas and other small wares; as, in fact, it is in front. No one in passing along would ever dream of what it contains as you advance inside, and get towards the rear.

It may be taken perhaps as one of the

evidences of the immensity of London, that although I occasionally spoke of this collection in society afterwards, I hardly met with any one who had as much as heard of it. It was not, to be sure, a place in which to pass whole days, as in the British Museum, where I have been—that repository of the memorials of genius, science, literature, history, and the arts; but it was a remarkable sample of that exquisite subdivision in mechanical genius, in a field bearing neither upon the useful nor fine arts, to be found only in a vast metropolis. The interior mechanism of the little spider was said to be composed of more than one hundred distinct pieces. My attention had been drawn to the collection by a friend from Canada, with whom I went to see it. What the proprietor said about the trade between England and China, I copy precisely as I wrote down his words, nearly five-and-twenty years ago; and it would seem as if he had spoken in a prophetic spirit. He himself is in all probability no longer among the living, for he told us that he was seventy-six years old; but if he left descendants, he may have indulged in the same prediction to them as to me; and if the collection came to their hands, a market for it in China may give them at last the benefit of their ancestor's ingenuity in so

curious a line of British art. The Emperor Charles the Fifth in his retirement, had, among his other pastimes, puppets that moved like men; but it is not added, I believe, that they could play on musical instruments, like Mr. Weeks's.

March 14. Went to church at the Royal Chapel, Whitehall. This was once the great Banqueting-room of the ancient Palace of Whitehall. Directly in front of it, before the large window, on a scaffold erected for the purpose, Charles the First was beheaded. The whole service seemed the more impressive, within a building calculated to call up in the mind of a stranger, for the first time there, associations of royal banquets and royal agony. A regiment of the foot guards attended, and sat in the gallery.

March 18. Went to the Levee at Carlton House. It was very full. Being the first held since the Queen's death, everybody wore mourning. The Archduke Maximilian was there. Speaking of him with M. De Neuman, the latter represented him as among the best informed princes in Europe. I again had some conversation with him about the United States, on his introduction of the subject. Next I conversed with Lord Castlereagh, who said among other things, speaking of the Aus-



trian Court, that at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the Emperor entertained all the Sovereigns, Princes, and Ministers, then assembled in that capital; keeping them all at his own expense, as long as they stayed, and providing houses or palaces for their residences. Some idea, he said, might be formed of the scale on which it was done, when he mentioned that the principal Equerry to the Emperor had orders to have several hundred horses in readiness daily, for the accommodation and pleasure of these his distinguished guests, and all who moved in their train. Not only were tables provided for all, but each of the guests, including secretaries, aids, and attachés, were desired to bring to the tables any of their friends whom the great events of Europe might have drawn to that capital. I ventured to intimate that such imperial hospitality, having no House of Commons or House of Representatives to call for its items, was doubtless agreeable to those who dispensed, and to those who received it; at which point of our conversation, his Lordship's attention being drawn off by a member of the cabinet, we separated. He approached me again in an hour, to request that I would call upon him at his private residence on the 21st, having something to say to me on Spanish affairs.

March 21. Call on Lord Castlereagh, according to appointment. His house had just been undergoing repairs, particularly in window glass, from the effects of some acts of violence committed upon it by the mob at the recent special election for Westminster.

He informed me that, since our last conversation on Spanish affairs, the subject of the mediation had taken a decisive turn. Spain had finally declined all mediating offices; there seemed, therefore, to be an end of the whole matter, as regarded any further steps to be taken by England, or by the powers of Europe. He recapitulated the history of this proffered mediation, now come to nothing; he went over grounds connected with its origin and progress; adverted to what had passed at Aix-la-Chapelle, and said, that if the mediation had been acted upon, the plan of the Allies was, that Spain should concede to such of her Colonies as had not been in general revolt, the same terms, as far as applicable to their future government, as were proposed to be granted to those which had openly resisted her authority. He also said, that it had been suggested that some individual, in whom Spain herself, as well as the Allies, had confidence, should be selected to go to Madrid, with full powers from the latter in the whole business of the

mediation. The Duke of Wellington had been designated as the person ; but Spain had not acceded to the proposition. He observed, further, that Spain had made a request to send a representative to the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle ; but this was not deemed of a nature to be acquiesced in. These were the main points mentioned by his Lordship, not stated to me on former occasions. He remarked, that the inference from all was, that Spain had now resolved to rely upon her own efforts by sea and land, and on the supplies of her own treasury, for putting down rebellion throughout all the dominions of Ferdinand. This resolution had come about, he added, through the change of ministry in that country ; an event which took place at about the time of the assemblage of the Sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle. His Lordship concluded by remarking, that this rejection of the mediation would not influence the course which Great Britain would otherwise have adopted under the communication I made to him last month, about our intended recognition of Buenos Ayres ; meaning, as he explained, that it had created no unfriendly sensibility in the British Cabinet towards Spain, however inexpedient her course might be thought.

This subject being disposed of for the pre-

sent, I took the opportunity of bringing to his Lordship's notice some additional proof of the guilt of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, applicable, in this instance, chiefly to the former. It was contained in a printed document received in a late dispatch from the Secretary of State, presenting the "Talk" sent by Oponey, a chief of the Upper Creek Indians, in March 1817, to the Big Warrior, principal chief of that nation. I described the nature of this talk, and its unequivocal bearing upon Arbuthnot's guilt. His Lordship not being certain whether Mr. Bagot had transmitted the pamphlet which contained it, I put a copy into his hands, with references to the proper passages. He listened to all I said, and not without interest; remarking, that the subject would come before Parliament, Lord Lansdowne having intimated to Lord Liverpool his intention of moving it in the House of Peers. He further remarked, that the course which the investigation had taken in the House of Representatives at Washington, was calculated to embarrass the Cabinet of England, the speeches of our own members having sharply denounced General Jackson. These, he said, were cited and dwelt upon in the English journals, and cast by the Opposition into the teeth of the Ministry, who had viewed the subjects in lights different from those members of Congress.



I next made his Lordship acquainted with the circumstances of the outrage committed upon the Consul of the United States at Tripoli, in September, by some negro slaves of an officer of the Bashaw, and of the part acted by the British Consul on the occasion; to whom a declaration was imputed, that all that he had done was under the orders of his Government. I found that the matter was new to Lord Castlereagh; but he said at once, that there never could have been any orders or instructions of any description whatever, going to sanction unfriendly treatment towards our public officers, or any of our citizens in that quarter. He added, that the concerns of the British Government with the Barbary powers were under the more immediate cognizance of the Colonial department, and referred me to Lord Bathurst for further conversation respecting this case, or whatever representations it might call for.

Before our interview closed, I spoke of the right of search; I said it was in vain to disguise the sensitive feeling which the people of the United States had, whenever its exercise on the high seas was proposed, no matter what the object; and consequently my fears for the result of his proposal to us about the slave-trade. He replied, that he was

aware of our objections, but added, that as he did not despair of France and Russia conceding it in the end, notwithstanding all that had passed at Aix-la-Chapelle, he would not surrender the hope that we too would give up our scruples, at a future day, for the sake of carrying forward so great a cause.

March 22nd. Dined at the Marquis of Lansdowne's. The Duke of Bedford, Prince Poniatowski, Sir James Macintosh, Count Ludolf, Mr. Adair, former Ambassador from England at Constantinople, and Mr. Alexander Baring,\* were of the company. I sat next to Sir James Macintosh. He spoke in the highest terms of our host, remarking, that his talents were of the first order, and his temper and discretion equal to his talents.

All my impressions go to confirm these opinions; yet, I fear that he means to take part against us in the case of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, not only from what Lord Castle-reagh said yesterday, but other indications. Before going to dinner, his servant brought in one of the evening papers. His Lordship opening it for a moment, noticed the news which had arrived in the morning, of the House of Representatives having refused to pass a vote of censure on General Jackson. He

\* Since Lord Ashburton.

simply read over the vote, the Duke of Bedford, Mr. Baring, and Sir James Macintosh, listening. The majority against censuring him, being forty-six, his Lordship supposed it to be small, and looked to me for information. I remarked, that it would rather be considered large for our House of Representatives; a body much less numerous than the House of Commons. No comments were made, or any political subject alluded to afterwards in that classic dining-room, where it was not for the first time I had been a guest.

After dinner I had renewed conversations with Sir James Macintosh. Alluding to the style of speaking in the House of Commons, he characterised it by saying, that "the true light in which to consider it, *was as animated conversation on public business;*" and he added, that it was "rare for any speech to succeed in that body which was raised on any other basis." He thought Mr. Brougham the first man in the house for various and universal information on political subjects; Mr. Canning and Mr. Plunkett, on the whole, the first orators. Mr. Canning, he said, excelled all the rest in language.

So spoke, in few and significant words, on an ample subject, this deep and calm observer of men and things, this profound master in

speculative thought; to me ever instructive when I meet him; the modern Burke, for so I must consider him; wanting, to be sure, his diligence and energy in carrying onward great public affairs, but scarcely inferior in mental powers under the highest state of discipline; in conversation, uniting, condensation to knowledge the most abundant and various, and so benignant in temper that you never hear him harsh upon any one; his powers of analysis seeming to delight (so it has ever been when I have heard him talk) in justly discriminating the talents and virtues of his great contemporaries; nor does he keep back the merit of political opponents, whilst true to his own faith. How rare such a man, and what a model for politicians!

March 23rd. The vote of the House of Representatives, refusing to pass censure on General Jackson, has produced a slight depression in the English funds. The newspapers break out into violent language. Some of them, in attempting to account for the injustice and ferocity with which, as they say, it brands our character, insist that it must arise from the existence of negro slavery among us. The *Morning Chronicle*, a journal of deservedly high character with the Whigs, seems of this opinion. Strange opinion!



when the southern planters in the states where slavery exists as planted by the laws of England, yield to no part of our population in solid virtues, and in all the elements which go to make up that high character—the gentleman. That Washington was the growth of our southern soil, ought, of itself, to save it from such inconsiderate denunciations.

March 25. News arrives of the cession of the Floridas by Spain to the United States. The English papers raise a clamor, charging ambition and rapacity upon the United States. They say nothing of the acquisitions which England has been making in all parts of the globe, by her arms or policy, since the days of Elizabeth and Cromwell. Even if we were to show some tincture of this quality, still, as her own children, disposed to act in her own spirit, her journalists might make allowances; but, in fact, we acquire Florida by fair treaty; we give Spain the *quid pro quo* to the uttermost farthing; and the last thing that I anticipate is complaint from a mind like Lord Castlereagh's.

So expressing myself of Lord Castlereagh, I will go farther. In the preceding volume of this work I have borne testimony to what I believe to have been the liberal views of this Foreign Secretary of England in regard to the

relations between our two countries; and I now desire to do it again, on authentic grounds. The convention of last October produced complaint among portions of the people, both of England and the United States; as is apt to be the case after all treaties between ambitious nations approaching, in any points, to rivalry. There were parts of the convention not relished on our side; and those who were interested in the British North American fisheries, clamored exceedingly at the article about the fisheries, alleging that England had surrendered everything to the United States. They even asked pecuniary indemnification from the English Government for what it had given up. Lord Castlereagh, in alluding to these clamors, said to me, that his Government was unmoved by them; and that he thought it of less moment which of the parties gained a little more or lost a little more by the compact, than that so difficult a point should be adjusted, and the harmony of the two countries, so far, be made secure; adding his belief, on full examination, that each party had gained every substantial advantage needed. This was true wisdom. I did not fail to communicate his sentiments to my Government. Out-door clamor is little aware of the difficulties which Governments often

experience in arranging clashing interests between great nations; and too little inclined to ask, whether it is not better, sometimes, for each to abate a little, than determine to face all the consequences of standing out too stiffly on ground taken at first.

April 27. Having received information through our consul at Liverpool, and the American Chamber of Commerce of that town, that the collectors of light money and pilotage continue to demand on all vessels from the United States frequenting that port the rates of light money and pilotage payable on foreign vessels, I this day wrote Lord Castlereagh, the subjoined note :

The undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, has the honor to present his compliments to Lord Castlereagh.

On the 28th of September last, the undersigned had the honor to address a note to Lord Bathurst respecting certain extra duties and charges which, notwithstanding the provisions of the convention of the 3rd of July 1815, were levied upon vessels of the United States entering the ports of Great Britain, to the contents of which he prays at this time to call the attention of Lord Castlereagh.

It is with renewed concern that the undersigned is obliged to state, that, since the period of his above note, information has reached him, that the collectors of light money and pilotage at Liverpool have continued to demand on all American ships; and that the masters or consignees of the latter have ever since been forced to pay the rates of light money and pilotage payable on foreign vessels, instead of those payable on British vessels, as stipulated by the convention. These extra duties, it is true, are refunded to the American claimants, on application being made to that effect; but it is distinctly represented to the undersigned, that the return cannot be had until the application has been made by the claimants, first at Liverpool, and afterwards in London, at an expense, including the whole proceeding, of not less than ten per cent. upon the amount due to them.

It is plain that so long as they are put to any expense whatever in recovering back sums which, under the convention, were not originally due, its provisions are not substantially executed; and it seems alike obvious, that more or less expense must always be incurred, as long as the necessity and burden of the application for refunding is made to fall upon the claimants.



The undersigned has been specially instructed by his Government to draw the attention of Lord Castlereagh to this subject; and he is persuaded that nothing beyond this is necessary to induce his Lordship to cause the necessary orders to be issued to the proper officers at all the ports of the kingdom, but more especially at Liverpool, to exact in future no other or higher duties or charges on American vessels, for any purpose whatever, than those fixed by the convention between the two countries; a measure becoming the more important from the duration of that instrument having been happily extended to a further term of ten years.

The undersigned takes advantage of this opportunity to tender to Lord Castlereagh the assurances of his distinguished consideration.

RICHARD RUSH.

To the Right Honourable Lord Viscount  
Castlereagh, his Majesty's principal  
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

## CHAPTER V.

DINNER AT PRINCE ESTERHAZY'S—REMARKABLE INCIDENT AT IT.—DINNER AT LORD TEIGNMOUTH'S.—INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE, RELATIVE TO THE EXTRA DUTIES.—LETTER TO THE CONSUL OF THE UNITED STATES AT LIVERPOOL, IN CONNEXION WITH THIS SUBJECT.—DINNER AT THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR'S.—MOTION IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, IN THE CASES OF ARBUTHNOT AND AMBRISTER.—FOREIGN ENLISTMENT BILL.—PARTY AT THE COUNTESS OF JERSEY'S—AT COUNTESS GROSVENOR'S.

May 3. DINED with Prince Esterhazy, the Austrian Ambassador. The dinner was given to the new French Ambassador, the Marquis Latour Maubourg, lately arrived at the English court as successor to the Marquis d'Osmond, recalled, it was understood, at his own request, not wishing to remain after the Duke of Richelieu ceased to be Minister of Foreign Affairs in France. The company was large, consisting of ambassadors, ministers, plenipotentiary and chargés; the Marquis of Anglesea, the Prince of Hesse Philippsthal, and other guests.

Dinner was announced at eight o'clock, and

after the company were seated, an incident probably struck all. On the right of Prince Esterhazy sat the new French Ambassador, as chief guest, and on his left were the Prince of Hesse Philippsthal and the Marquis of Anglesea. Amongst these three, there were but three *legs*. The French Ambassador had lost one of his in the French service at the battle of Leipsic; the Prince of Hesse Philipsthal, one of his, at the battle of Borodino, in the Russian service; and the Marquis of Anglesea, one of his, at the battle of Waterloo. When I attended the Prince Regent's first levee, my attention was drawn to the number of maimed and wounded English officers present; and here, this evening, were accidentally assembled, side by side, three of different nations, each without a limb.

Getting back to the drawing-rooms to coffee, I made the acquaintance of the French Ambassador. His fame as a general of cavalry in the armies of France, is a part of history. His friends dwell with pride on the charge he made upon a body of horse at the battle of Leipsic; upon which occasion the Emperor of Russia was in danger of captivity. His troops called him the Bayard of France; and he appears as attractive by his gentle manners, as he was formidable in war.

In conversation with the Marquis of Anglesea, he asked whether the United States had not lost much of the carrying trade since the general peace ; and while on this topic, also asked whether large portions of the seamen in our public ships during the war had not been British. I said, in reference to the latter, that the impression seemed very general in England, to be such as his question implied, but was not borne out by facts ; many British seamen were, undoubtedly, found in our merchant vessels in time of peace, as ours were found in the merchant vessels of other nations, though not in such numbers ; but from our *public* vessels, we carefully excluded foreign seamen, and had done so in an especial manner, by positive orders, during the late war ; doubtless some had got on board, notwithstanding, but the number was extremely small.

As to the carrying trade, I remarked, that we had lost much of it, but our tonnage held its own through the increase of the coasting trade, and increasing export of our home productions ; which, being generally bulky, called for a large amount of tonnage for their transportation.

May 6. Dined at Lord Teignmouth's. The Bishop of Doyne, Lord Gambier, Mr.



Grant, Mr. John Owen, and a few others, in addition to the family of Lord Teignmouth, were of the company.

I asked Mr. Grant, who was a Director of the East India Company, if it were publicly known what objects, commercial or other, had brought to London the Persian Ambassador—Mirza Abul Hassan Khan. He said that he was not informed of them; that from Great Britain to Persia, not a ship sailed at present, as far as he knew, and there was not much, if any, communication between the two countries over-land. The only intercourse which existed, was that of a few vessels going from British India to the coasts of the Gulf of Ormus, and Persian Gulf, where they carried articles of British manufacture. For these, payment was made in the gold coins of Venice, which had continued to circulate in that part of Persia, since the days when Venetian commerce took the lead in the East. Lord Teignmouth said that the sequin was still struck at Venice, and found its way through Turkey into Persia. His Lordship could well join in this part of the conversation, having been a traveller into Persia, and understanding its language.

After dinner we found a party assembling in the drawing-rooms, amongst whom was

Lord Hill, whose acquaintance I made, and whose military reputation in England seems scarcely second to any but the Duke of Wellington.

I count it a good fortune to have enjoyed the acquaintance of Lord Teignmouth, and to have lived in his neighbourhood in London. Not speaking of him here as Governor-General of India whilst Sir John Shore, and performing great duties in the empire which Clive founded and the Wellesleys extended, or as a scholar and author, I will barely say that, besides the hospitalities acceptable to a stranger which I received from him, I would gratefully allude also to other and more touching kindnesses from himself and Lady Teignmouth when death entered our domicile. It was then that they did what only the kindest friends do.

May 7. Called on Mr. Robinson, President of the Board of Trade, under a special appointment: he is now also of the Cabinet. I represent to him the inconvenience to which our citizens are put by the demands still made at Liverpool for extra duties and charges upon their vessels, and request that the practice may cease, as matter of right to the American merchant and ship-owner. He informs me that he was devising a plan which he hoped

to mature very soon, the object of which was, not to require payment in the first instance of any alien duties or port charges by our vessels; as the obtaining of them back must always be attended with trouble, even if expense could be avoided. I said that this was the only course to be taken, and the one which our citizens claimed under the convention of 1815. He agreed to this construction of it, and gave me to understand that it would be brought about.

May 8. It does not come within my intention to notice the correspondence I carried on during my mission with the consuls of the United States residing at the ports of Great Britain, the extent and importance of whose duties are not perhaps sufficiently considered by our Government. My correspondence with them was far too frequent to attempt even summary allusions to it, though sometimes it embraced subjects of high and delicate international concern; but a letter to the consul at Liverpool written to-day is inserted, relating, as it mainly does, to the construction of the convention between the two countries, and following up, as it also does, the subject of the preceding memorandum, and of my note to Lord Castlereagh of the 27th of April. I give it therefore entire.

Legation of the United States,  
London, May 8th, 1819.

DEAR SIR,

UNAVOIDABLE causes have prevented my answering at an earlier day several of your late communications : I now proceed to do so.

Respecting the demands still made upon our vessels at Liverpool of alien duties for pilotage and light money, of which American citizens, or those representing them in this country, with so much reason complain, I have addressed a note to Lord Castlereagh, requesting that the practice may cease.

It is not the first time I have had occasion to address this Government officially to the same purport. I have also called upon Mr. Robinson, President of the Board of Trade and a member of the Cabinet, and had a conversation with him on the subject. My application to him distinctly was, that our citizens be freed altogether from any demand whatever for these extra duties. It is to this complete exemption that they are entitled under the convention. If they are made to pay in the first instance, it cannot be expected that the amount can be refunded to them without trouble, even if expense could be avoided ; and it is as little just to expose them to the one as the other. Mr. Robinson promised an



early attention to my application ; and I hope that the result may prove satisfactory to the just expectations of our citizens, as I shall feel at a loss, in a contrary issue, what further measures to take on their behalf without new instructions from home. But I cannot doubt the friendly dispositions of this Government, and of course its desire to do all that is just and proper on the occasion. This will be an answer to your letter of the 17th of April, which enclosed a copy of the memorial from the American Chamber of Commerce at Liverpool to the Lords of the Treasury.

I do not feel so clear as to the ground on which our ship-owners stand, respecting the export duty upon coals, as set forth in the paper accompanying your letter of the 28th of April. The convention protects us against any higher duties than could be laid on an exportation of the article to any other foreign country ; and places vessels of the United States in all respects upon the same footing with British vessels. But it seems that twenty-two shillings sterling a chaldron is not higher than the sum charged on an exportation to other countries ; and that this sum is to be charged when the article is taken to the United States in a British, in the same manner as when taken in an American ship. I

therefore have my doubts at present in what particular the convention is violated, and will come to no final opinion, but wait further explanations.

As regards the point stated in your letter of the 13th of April, I do not feel free to express an opinion upon it. It grows out of an Act of Congress long in operation, but differently viewed, it seems, by our different consuls in these dominions, and the construction of which has now been submitted to the Secretary of State for his decision. In this state of the question I cannot interpose.

On the case presented by your letter of the 6th of this month, I am of opinion that where the facts establish a mutiny, the men are not entitled to three months extra wages on being discharged by the captain in a foreign port. The Act of Congress never could have intended that American seamen should be allowed to make profit of their crimes. This would be the case if, when the master is obliged to discharge them for criminal conduct, they could demand this bounty. The entire spirit of the Act imports that their title to it was to rest on other grounds, and it is of the essence of every law not to be construed in a manner to work consequences pernicious or absurd. The documents which

you transmitted to me on this subject are returned.

I examined your accounts for the quarter ending on the 31st of March, and have given Mr. Williams a draft in your favour upon the Messieurs Barings for 609*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.*, the sum appearing to be due to you.

Your letter of the 1st of this month, and the dispatches to me which it announced from the department of State, came safely to hand.

With great respect and esteem, I am, dear Sir, your obliged servant,

RICHARD RUSH.

James Maury, Esquire, Consul of the  
United States, Liverpool.

In regard to the accounts of the consul above referred to, it may be stated that it devolved upon me to examine those of all the consuls of the United States in Great Britain and Ireland every quarter, and pay them the money due which Congress provided; the whole of which fund, as far as concerned our consuls in Great Britain, was subject to my drafts in the hands of our bankers in London, the Barings, Brothers and Company. This was a most inappropriate duty with which to charge the Minister, and from which, I believe, he has of late years been absolved. The chief

expenditures of the consuls were, indeed, in advancement of a highly useful policy in the Government of the United States, viz., the support and relief of destitute or distressed American seamen in any of the ports of Great Britain or Ireland. Without consulting documents enabling me to be accurate, I should probably be within bounds in saying, that the aggregate of my payments to all these consuls in the course of a single year sometimes exceeded twenty thousand dollars.

May 11. Dined with the Spanish Ambassador, the Duke of San Carlos. The dinner was given to the Marquis and Marchioness Latour Maubourg. All the diplomatic corps; the Duke of Wellington; Count Chickanaro; Mr. Hamilton, one of the Under Secretaries of State for the Foreign Department; and several others were of the company. With the Duke of San Carlos I had an exchange of congratulations on the prospect of seeing Spain and the United States placed by the late treaty of Florida upon friendly terms, though the treaty is yet unratified.

His approach to me for this purpose, a minute or two after I entered the room as his guest, was with a grace noticed by some of the diplomatic corps, none of whom, probably, were strangers to the diplomatic cool-



ness between the two nations at Washington, before the treaty was concluded. All see in this Ambassador from the still proud old Court of Madrid, a high specimen of the Spanish gentleman.

At dinner, I was next to the Neapolitan Minister, and Mr. Hamilton. Amongst other topics, we had that of the Persian Ambassador's visit to London. Mr. Hamilton supposed that one of its objects was to obtain, through the good offices of England, some modification of a treaty of peace, concluded a few years ago between Persia and Russia, which Sir Gore Ouseley, then English Ambassador in Persia, aided in negotiating under the mediation of England. The treaty was a good one for English and Russian interests at that time; Russia being at war with Persia, but on the eve of her great struggle against the French in 1812, inasmuch as it liberated some seventy thousand Russian troops from Asiatic objects; but experience showing that some parts of the treaty were likely to bear hard upon Persia, a mitigation of the terms was sought by her, through the instrumentality of England. It was so that I understood Mr. Hamilton.

I had conversation, in the drawing-room, with Mr. Ramadani, chargé d'affaires from Constantinople, on our admission to the commerce

of the Black Sea. I adverted to the reciprocal advantages which might be expected to flow from opening commercial intercourse by treaty, between the United States and Turkey, — Britain, France, Russia and Austria, having the privilege of sending their vessels to the Black Sea; I reminded him that the United States had a larger foreign commerce than any one of these nations—Britain excepted; and might, therefore, as I thought, for reasons operating both with his country and mine, naturally seek participation in the trade of that sea. He listened with apparent attention to what I said, but was backward in reply, having no instructions from his Court on the subject. In the course of our conversation, he mentioned that Turkey had diplomatic representatives only in London, Paris, and Vienna.

The Portuguese chargé d'affaires, Chevalier Guerrein, manifesting a desire to know the intentions of the United States respecting Buenos Ayres, I informed him of the probable recognition of the Independence of that new State at an early day, by my Government; a communication which I thought he received with satisfaction. He then informed me, that Count Palmella, who was in Paris on the affair of Montevideo, had little hope of succeeding in the object of his visit; and that the grand

armament fitting out at Cadiz against Montevideo, was getting ready to sail with all expedition, or making demonstrations to that effect. The Chevalier appeared under no alarm at the threatened hostility of Spain, and referred with complacency to the treaty between Portugal and England, in which the latter guarantees the European possessions of Portugal.

I had also conversation with Count Chickanaro, President of the Academy of Arts at Vienna, and author of the work on ancient and modern sculpture ; who spoke in high commendation of the talents and acquirements of Mr. Ticknor, of Boston, whom he had met in Italy.

May 12. Yesterday the Marquis of Lansdowne made his promised motion in the House of Lords, for Ministers to produce the correspondence between the two Governments in the cases of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. After debate, it was negatived without a division. His lordship spoke with his usual ability and dignity, but not without misapprehension as to some parts of our system of government and law ; particularly our Act of Congress, relative to private citizens who carry on correspondence with foreign Governments ; and also as to our Articles of War relating to courts martial.



The United States were sufficiently put in the right on the broad merits of the transaction by the Ministers of the Crown, Lord Liverpool and Lord Bathurst, who spoke in reply to Lord Lansdowne. It is satisfactory to remark, that the grounds upon which they justified England in abstaining from interference, are the same in effect with those which, in fulfilment of my instructions, I had laid before the British Cabinet, as seen in the 22nd chapter of the former volume of this work. I need say no more on a subject which, under some of its aspects, was painful; a subject which called for wisdom and firmness in the King's Ministers to get the better of a widespread clamour in England when news of the execution of those two men first arrived; and which, gathering aggravation from the power and passion of the British press, which knew not the merits of the transaction, threatened for a short time, to interrupt the peace of the two countries. Happily it went off without any such consequences. They would, indeed, have been far too momentous for the occasion; yet how often have nations been thrown into collision through slighter causes? History is full of such examples. The progress of the transaction cost me much solicitude, and I hailed, with unmingled satisfaction, its favorable issue.



May 14. I have a request from Mr. Hamilton, to refer him to all our Acts of Congress for maintaining more effectually our neutral relations; but chiefly the act known to have been intended for Spain and her colonies, though general in its terms. I accordingly send it to him, being the Act of the 20th of April 1818; and give him references to our earlier acts, particularly the Act of June 1794, passed when the wars of the French Revolution were raging, and complaints were made by one or other of the belligerents, that privateers were fitted out in our ports, and other armaments prepared within our jurisdiction. The motive for Mr. Hamilton's request, may be seen in yesterday's proceedings in the House of Commons. It appears that the Attorney-General has asked leave to bring in a bill, called the Foreign Enlistment Bill, the object of which is to prevent, as far as possible in future, the departure from British ports, of any men, or military supplies for the Spanish colonies. England is thus going at last to try the effect of special legislation on this subject, with a declaration from Lord Castlereagh, made in the House of Commons, that his Majesty's Ministers owed an apology to the House and country, for not adopting the measure sooner. I was not prepared to see him go to this extent in his decla-

ration; nor for the measure itself. It has certainly been the effect of a recent determination. The policy of it may, perhaps, be called generous, considering the weakness of Spain, and how fast she is tottering to a fall from her colonial power. This, none can see more clearly than the English Ministers. The measure may have been urged on by the course of the United States. Whether a special Act of Parliament can stop supplies, and thence also the complaints from the Duke of San Carlos, to which Lord Melville alluded at the Portuguese Ambassador's, in February, time will show.

It is among the permanent instructions to me from my Government to keep all our ministers, at whatever places we may have them in Europe or America, informed of any events coming under my knowledge in London, which may bear upon any part of our foreign relations, or otherwise be interesting to the United States. Thus broadly did Mr. Adams view diplomatic duty under this, as all aspects; and it may be in place here to say, that I made known to Mr. Erving, our Minister at Madrid, my communication to Lord Castlereagh in February, of the intention of the United States to recognise the independence of Buenos Ayres. I was also informed by

Mr. Erving, that the knowledge of it had been transmitted to the English Embassy at Madrid, by a courier extraordinary from London. This will manifest the interest which the English Court took in that communication, as well as the relations of amity which bind England to Spain; and thence also may render it the less difficult to imagine a motive for the Foreign Enlistment Bill, which the Ministers have at length determined to pass.

May 18. Went to a party last night at the Countess of Jersey's, Berkeley Square. The rooms presented a large array of Whig nobility, amongst them, some of the most enlightened men of England. I next went to Countess Grosvenor's, where a party still larger was assembled. Four rooms were open, the walls of each covered with paintings, Grosvenor House being celebrated for its large collection. I could do no more than glance at them last night, seeing them better on subsequent occasions. In the principal room, a large one, and very lofty, and which from abundant light had a sun-like brightness, were four large paintings by Reubens—scripture pieces, besides other productions of the masters. These four I was informed had been recently purchased by Lord Grosvenor, for five thousand pounds sterling. In another of the rooms, my attention

was called by one of the guests, to a landscape by Paul Potter, small in size, for which it was said a thousand guineas were given. There were historical pieces, fancy pieces, family pieces, landscapes, portraits, — making the walls on all sides glow with this rich and beautiful collection of works of art. On the side-board and tables where refreshments stood, massive plate arrested the eye; whilst from another of the rooms which looked into the gardens, you saw lamps through foliage and flowers, and heard music from bands. It was near two o'clock when we got home from this attractive entertainment.



## CHAPTER VI.

AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE PRINCE REGENT. — EMIGRANTS FROM ENGLAND TO THE UNITED STATES. — DINNER AT MR. WILLIAM VAUGHAN'S. — DINNER AT MR. INGLIS'S — MR. WILBERFORCE — DR. JOHNSON. — DINNER AT THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR'S. — LEVEE AT CARLTON HOUSE. — SPECIAL AUDIENCE OF THE PRINCE REGENT — CONVERSATION ON AMERICAN INTERESTS AT THE LEVEE.

May 19. HAVING received from the Secretary of State an autograph letter, addressed by the President to the Prince Regent, in answer to one addressed by the Prince to the President, announcing the death of the Queen, I wrote the following note to Lord Castle-reagh:—

London, May 19, 1819,  
51, Baker Street.

MY LORD,

I have received from the Secretary of State a letter addressed by the President of the United States to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in answer to one from his Royal Highness to the President, dated the 16th of November last.

Having the President's directions to deliver this letter, a copy of which is enclosed, I have to request that your Lordship will be so good as to ask on my behalf the honour of a special audience of his Royal Highness, or inform me in what other manner it may be the pleasure of his Royal Highness that it should be presented.

I have the honour to be, with distinguished consideration, your Lordship's obedient servant,

RICHARD RUSH.

The Right Honourable Lord Viscount Castlereagh, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

May 21. Receive the following in reply:—

The undersigned, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Rush's letter of the 19th instant, enclosing the copy of a letter of condolence, from the President of the United States to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on the death of her late Majesty the Queen; and requesting an audience of his Royal Highness for the purpose of delivering the original.

The undersigned hastens to acquaint Mr. Rush, that the Prince Regent will grant him

an audience for that purpose on the next levee day; and requests he will accept the assurances of his high consideration.

CASTLEREAGH.

Foreign Office, May, 1819.

May 21. Few subjects continue to press more frequently, and, I add, needlessly, upon my time in this capital, sometimes by personal applications, but oftener by letters, than that of emigration to the United States. I am heavily tasked for information on this subject; sometimes even called upon to give advice! The subjoined answer sent to day to one of these applications, is given as illustrative of the mode in which I deal with all:—

Legation of the United States,

London, May 21, 1819.

SIR,

I received your letter of yesterday's date, and have to say that I have no authority to treat with you upon the subject to which it relates. The United States have never heretofore, by any direct or indirect interference on the part of their Government, invited emigrants from other countries to their shores. Their laws, it is true, are in a high degree liberal towards the foreigner, giving him full protection on his arrival, and clothing him

afterwards with the rights of a citizen upon easy terms. But they leave him wholly to his own impulse whether to go or not, abstaining from all engagements or promises with him beforehand, beyond those which their permanent laws imply. I am not at present aware of any considerations connected with the late acquisition of the Floridas, to authorise an expectation that there will be any departure by the United States from this, their habitual course of policy ; and therefore I do not think it necessary, even if I felt at liberty, to transmit your proposals to my Government. The climate and soil of those provinces may indeed favour the cultivation of the articles you have indicated ; but this has already been more or less the case with other parts of the territorial dominion of the United States.

In affording you this early and unreserved answer, I have the honour to remain your obedient servant,

RICHARD RUSH.

To Mr. Melton.

May 25. Yesterday we dined with Mr. William Vaughan, residing at Clapham, a merchant of great worth, long and well known for his kindness and hospitalities to Americans. To me and my family, they were extended with great cordiality and warmth.



The party consisted of a few of his neighbours, all my family, and Mr. and Mrs. \* \* \* \* a well informed couple, who gave to conversation a sprightly and, in part, literary turn. They had recently been to Brighton, the seashore residence of the Prince Regent, and visited the Pavilion, a sort of marine palace built by the Regent; of the classic architecture of which fame, it is true, does not give the best account, being fashioned after Chinese models, or that of the Kremlin at Moscow; or partaking of both. With the mention of this building, the Prince Regent himself became a topic, and was spoken of without any great reserve; the disposition to do which, is not uncommon when his name comes on the tapis, out of Government circles. There is no rule to which I hold myself more strictly, than that of not intermingling in party politics in this kingdom. Silence is my resource on any signs of that kind of conversation breaking out; more especially when members of the Government or Court to which I am accredited, are aimed at. Our benignant host seconded my reserve on this occasion, and the topic was not much extended, but gave way to others in which all were able to share.

In the dining-room of Mr. Vaughan stood a piece of furniture in which as a Briton he

naturally took pride, and which everybody might look at with interest. It was a side-board, formerly belonging to Lord Nelson, which he informed us he had purchased at a sale after his death.

May 28. Visit the Duke of Kent at Kensington Palace, and afterwards go to dinner at Mr. Inglis's,\* Battersea Rise, West End of Clapham Common. Lord and Lady Compton, Mr. Wilberforce, Sir Thomas Ackland, Mr. and Mrs. Morier, Mr. Stratford Canning, and others were of the company. The name of Ackland brings historical recollections to an American that border on romance, recalling the sufferings and dangers of that devoted wife and heroine, Lady Harriet Ackland, told in so touching a way by General Burgoyne in his narrative of the surrender and misfortunes of his army at Saratoga. The gentleman of our party, was the present head of the ancient family in Devonshire to which the husband of Lady Harriet Ackland belonged.

Mr. Wilberforce had much of the conversation, all appearing to desire that he should lead it. Sir Thomas Ackland, Lord Compton, and Mr. Inglis, were well able to sustain and draw him out. He told anecdotes of Mr. Windham; said that he had left behind

\* Since Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart.

him numerous manuscript books made up of loose memoranda, political and literary, various journals begun and discontinued, with other occasional notes and reflexions growing out of his active Parliamentary life; the whole showing great labour—but never the steady pursuit of it; “that deficiency,” he added in his musical intonations of voice, “which stops short so many men capable of the greatest achievements.” Speaking of the administration of justice he said, that he looked upon the custom of men of independent estates in the country becoming justices of the peace, and doing all the duties of the office without fee or reward, as that part of their system in England from which consequences the most beneficial were constantly though silently flowing. “Mischief always made a noise,” he said; and sometimes a case of oppression was charged upon some one or other among the magistrates of this description, which may, in fact, have happened; but he believed the good which, as a body, they did throughout the whole country, incalculably predominated over any occasional mischief.\*

The evening was rich in topics, in which

\* The same kind of magistracy prevails in the State of Virginia, where respectable and independent citizens discharge the duties of justices of the peace, without pay or reward.



all took part as the wine went round, or rather as it seemed forgotten. Johnson's life and character were among them; and I might have been surprised to learn that Mr. Wilberforce knew nothing of Johnson personally, although they were contemporary, if I had not remarked since being in England, how separate as a class their public and parliamentary men, however literary, as well as private persons who are literary, are from the class of authors. The cause becomes obvious when you get a close view of the multiplied sub-divisions of society in London. English statesmen and orators, and men of literary attainments in that large class where permanent fortunes are possessed, pursue literature as an accomplishment. To some of the former, it is the necessary auxiliary of public life; strength alone, in the vast competition of strong minds, not being sufficient without something to give it polish. To the mere men of fortune, literature becomes, very largely, the needful ornament of private life, so many persons having permanent wealth, that it disappears, as a title by itself, to distinction; whilst the professional author, pursues literature as a profession. A more marked illustration of the separation of the two classes could not easily be selected perhaps, than that such a man as



Mr. Wilberforce should never have met Dr. Johnson, both being social in their habits. Johnson, it is true, being in advanced life, (though he was still in full fame, writing his *Lives of the Poets*,) and Wilberforce in early life; at which epoch to each it was, that they were contemporary. Their political creed was also much the same.

There is doubtless more of approximation now between these two classes in England, than in Johnson's time, and prior to his time. Their still nearer approach might improve authors in their intercourse with the world, and strengthen literature and science in the circles of influence and power; each class lending aid to the other, as in all intercourse among the enlightened.

May 29th. Went to see the cork models in Lower Grosvenor Street. There was a representation of the Amphitheatre at Verona, and that of Rome; of Virgil's Tomb; of the Cascade near Tivoli; of the Grotto of Egeria; of Vesuvius in a state of eruption, and various other things of antiquity. I rank it among the curious exhibitions I have happened to see in London. The Neapolitan Minister had drawn my attention to it by remarking that representations of the ancient buildings of Italy, were thought to be better in cork than

perhaps any other material — particularly of the colour of some of them ; a sort of duski-ness, or brown this side of it.

May 30th. Dine at the Spanish Ambassa-dor's. It was a sumptuous entertainment given in honour of his Sovereign's birth-day. The entire diplomatic corps were present ; also the Duke and Duchess of Wellington ; Sir Benjamin Bloomfield, Chief Secretary of the Prince Regent ;\* some Spaniards of note, military officers chiefly ; the ladies of all the Ambassadors and Ministers, and other promi-nent persons.

I had Prince Esterhazy on one side of me, and on the other Sir Benjamin Bloomfield. The former reiterated the wishes he had ex-pressed to me on former occasions, for the opening of diplomatic intercourse between Austria and the United States. He spoke of the pending discussions in Paris between Spain and Portugal, and thought that they would come to nothing. Spain relying too much on her own exertions without the abi-lity to make them effective. He told me that Lord Castlereagh had made him ac-quainted with my communication to him of the intention of the United States to recognise Buenos Ayres, and seemed desirous to know

\* Afterwards Lord Bloomfield, British Minister at Stockholm.

whether I supposed our acquisition of the Floridas would change that intention. I said, I had no belief that it would; but added, that I had an impression, that our acquisition of them, coupled with our intention to recognise Buenos Ayres, had induced England to her late determination, to pass the Foreign Enlistment Bill, as something in favour of Spain, nominally at least; remarking further, that this was only a conjecture, as I had heard nothing of the sort from this Government, and had no right to inquire. In speaking thus, I desired to invite some communication from him on the subject, knowing his intimate relations with the English Government and Court; but either he knew nothing, or was not at liberty to let me hear it. He remarked, that he thought it natural in the United States to contemplate the recognition of Buenos Ayres, and said that whatever differences of opinion might exist as to the principle of the struggle going on in Spanish America, nothing seemed more certain to all observers out of Spain, than that it must end sooner or later, in the separation of the Colonies from the parent state.

In conversation with the French Ambassador in the drawing-rooms, I alluded to the good wishes, if not good offices, of Mr. Hyde



de Neuville, French Minister at Washington, in aid of our treaty for the Floridas; upon which he asked if the British Government had complained of our acquisition of these provinces. I said not to me.

June 3. Attended the Levee, and had my audience of the Prince Regent, as promised by Lord Castlereagh, for the purpose of delivering an autograph letter of condolence from the President on the death of the late Queen. The audience took place before the general Levee commenced, and in the Regent's private apartment, or closet. Lord Graves was in waiting to introduce me. In the room with the Prince, I found Lord Castlereagh. I delivered the original letter to the Prince, saying, that it was in answer to one which his Royal Highness wrote to the President on the afflicting occasion of the death of her late Majesty the Queen; and that, in delivering it, I had the President's commands to say, that, taking an interest in whatever affected the happiness of his Royal Highness and that of his illustrious House, he had received the intelligence with deep regret, and desired to offer his sincere condolence to his Royal Highness. I added words respectful towards the virtues and character of the Queen, such as appeared appropriate.



The Prince seemed to feel what I thus said in the name of the executive head of my country, of the Queen his mother. He replied, that he was much indebted to the President for sentiments so obliging; that it was indeed true that her Majesty had been remarkable throughout life for her virtues; that none had known her worth as well as her family; and that they, therefore, had been naturally most afflicted at her loss; and not one of them more than himself. The interview here closed. On coming out, I observed that the Persian Ambassador was waiting for an audience after mine was over. Glittering with gems, he entered the Regent's apartment as I left it.

The Levee afforded the opportunity of attending to other business. The President of the Board of Trade was there, and I renewed with all earnestness my application relative to the extra duties. He gave me assurances that he was devising a mode by which I might feel satisfied, that the American ship-owners would no longer be called upon to pay them; he found that an Act of Parliament would be necessary; and he added, that he would make it his particular care to have it carried through at the present session.

I had also a conversation with Lord Bathurst, the Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs, on

the subject of the outrage upon the American Consul at Tripoli. He said unhesitatingly, that the shelter afforded to the offenders by the British Consul in manner alleged, if such had been the fact, was as far from being under orders from the British Government, as from any wishes which it could possibly entertain on such an occasion: he was totally unacquainted with the transaction, but added that he would cause the proper inquiry to be made into it, and have any steps taken that might be necessary. After so unequivocal a disclaimer from two Cabinet Ministers, one of them the Foreign Secretary, this matter, under my present instructions, will now rest.

## CHAPTER VII.

MARRIAGES OF THE DUKES OF CAMBRIDGE, CLARENCE, AND KENT.—FORMS BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS ON SUCH OCCASIONS. — DRAWING-ROOM ON THE PRINCE REGENT'S BIRTH-DAY.—COURT FORMS.—RUMOUR OF MINISTERIAL CHANGES. — INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH ON THE WEST-INDIA TRADE. — RUMOURS ABOUT CUBA. — DINNER AT THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR'S.—PRINCE REGENT'S DRAWING-ROOM. — DINNER AT LORD CASTLEREAGH'S.—THE RUMOUR ABOUT CUBA.—LORD CASTLEREAGH PAYS A COMPLIMENT TO THE UNITED STATES.

ACCORDING to form, I had furnished Lord Castlereagh with a copy of the autograph letter from the President to the Prince Regent, delivered at the audience described in the preceding chapter, but did not retain one myself. Having a copy of one delivered formerly, similar in purport, though not in the occasion calling it forth, for the incidents were those of gladness not grief, I will here give it insertion. It was a letter from the President to the Prince Regent in answer to two letters addressed to him by the Prince, announcing the marriages of the Dukes of Cambridge, Clarence, and Kent. In the insertion of this

document, which is on the archives of both Governments, there can be nothing improper. It is, in its nature, public; and time seems now almost to have invested it with an historical character. It may serve to make known a little more largely, the form and spirit in which the executive heads of nations, a Republic being one, address each other directly when there is no intervention of secretaries or ministers. The words which they use, if no more than words, are kind ones; and such words, fitly spoken, we are told, are as "apples of gold in pictures of silver." I gave in chapter eighth of the former volume, an autograph letter which shows how heads of nations address each other, when charging their representatives with the transaction of grave matters of international concern. The letter now inserted may serve as a sample of the mode in which courteousness and good-will are reciprocated between them in the sphere of personality. Here is the copy of the letter:

*To His Royal Highness the Prince Regent,  
acting in the name and on behalf of His Majesty,  
the King of the United Kingdom of Great  
Britain and Ireland.*

OUR GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND,

I have received two letters which your Royal Highness was so good as to address to the



United States, dated the 1st and 12th of July last, by which your Royal Highness was pleased to communicate to us information of the nuptials of their Royal Highnesses your much respected Brothers, the Dukes of Cambridge, Clarence, and Kent; the Duke of Cambridge, with her Serene Highness the Princess Augusta Wilhelmina Louisa of Hesse Cassel; the Duke of Clarence, with her Serene Highness the Princess Adelaide Louisa Catherine of Saxe Meinengen; and the Duke of Kent, with her Serene Highness Victoria Maria Louisa of Saxe Cobourg; all recently solemnized at the Queen's Palace. Feeling a sincere and lively interest in the happiness of your Royal Highness and of your August Family, I offer to your Royal Highness on these joyful events, my cordial congratulations; and I earnestly pray that they may be productive of the truest felicity to the parties themselves, and of permanent benefits to the British nation.

I pray God, Great and Good Friend, to have you always in his holy keeping,

JAMES MONROE.

Written at Washington, this Third day of December, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighteen, and of the Independence of the United States, the Forty-third,  
John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State.

From one of these marriages has sprung a Queen, who now reigns over the British realm. From that fair stock is likely to spring a race of Sovereigns: and may not all breathe hopes in unison with President Monroe's letter? Besides the "permanent benefits to the British nation," for which that good man and sterling patriot expressed his wish, while conveying his congratulations on the marriage of the Duke of Kent, may not all hope, that it may tend also to the benefit of the family of nations? The wish, or prayer, as given out by President Monroe, if but a formulary, is enlightened, for this reason, that the prosperity of one great nation is that of others. England's prosperity flows over upon us, as ours upon England: and thus, international courtesy, when assuming this form, embodies international wisdom.

June 4. Receive a note from Sir Robert Chester, the master of ceremonies, informing me that the Prince Regent's birth-day would be kept on the 17th of this month, and that a Drawing-room would be held on that day. Regular notices of this kind from the Court, are sent to the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, although the ceremonials of which they give information, are always announced in the newspapers. I give a copy of his note:

Sir Robert Chester presents his compliments to Mr. Rush, and has the honour to acquaint him that the Prince Regent's birth-day will be kept on Thursday, the 17th instant; when his Royal Highness will hold a Drawing-room at Buckingham House.

68 South Audley Street, June 2, 1819.

P. S. Carriage Tickets for Constitution-hill will be sent to the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers the day before the Drawing-room.

I acknowledged the note as follows:—

Mr. Rush presents his compliments to Sir Robert Chester, and has the honour to return his thanks for the information he has been so good as to send him of its being intended to keep the birth-day of the Prince Regent on the 17th instant, and that his Royal Highness will hold a Drawing-room on that day at Buckingham House.

The postscript to the note, has reference to a carriage entrance into St. James's Park, through a gateway from which are excluded all other carriages, unless the owners have some personal privilege, or hold some station, giving them the claim to it. This seems a small detail on paper; but it may serve to illustrate that remark in Burke's speech on economical

reform and retrenchment, where, in the midst of his pruning, he is still for retaining those stations intended, as he says, "for the public decorum, and for preserving the grace and majesty of a great people." Since being in England, I have chanced to hear a gentleman of consideration give expression to regrets at having resigned a situation in the household of the Queen—simply because it had lost his carriage the privilege of going to Levees and Drawing-rooms by Constitution-hill! I add, that to Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, the privilege is convenient, from the multitude of carriages which, on these occasions, throng other approaches to the Palace.

June 7. \* \* \* \* \* of the diplomatic corps, paid me a visit. He talked on several subjects. He thinks there is something in the wind about a change of Ministry. He said that the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Besborough, and the Earl of Darlington, all Whigs, dined with the Prince Regent yesterday, a circumstance that has not occurred for a long time before. It seems that the Duke of Bedford was at Brighton lately, where he had gone for the benefit of his health. The Prince being there, sent a message to inquire how he was. In return, the Duke called at the Pavilion and inscribed his name in the Prince's



book. No intercourse had, for some years, passed between the parties. On coming to town, the Prince sent for the Duke and kept him in conversation a couple of hours at Carlton House, saying, as he was going away, that he had not for a long time been so happy as in the renewal of a friendship which he had formerly prized so much. He afterwards gave him a special invitation to dinner, joining with him the friends above-named. My visitor exercised his ingenuity for a key to all this, which, he said, excites attention. He summed up with saying, that if no general change be in contemplation just now, which, however, he rather inclined to believe, the Prince must design to give some of his Ministers "the fidgets," possibly from having been thwarted in some of his wishes; and, as he also assured me that the affair was a topic in high circles, and believed in some of them not to be without meaning, I make a note of what he said.

But by as much as I can see, the present Ministry appears to be as strong throughout the country, as in Parliament. To me, there appear no signs of change, and it is so that I write to my Government. The prudence and firmness of Lord Liverpool as Premier, seem pledges for the stability of the Ministry; not to speak of the weight it acquired by being the

Ministry in power when Napoleon was overthrown. It was to this effect, that I talked to my visitor. I said also, that to my speculative observation, it seemed as if a Tory Administration was rather the most in unison with a country, the institutions of which were essentially aristocratical and monarchical; just as in the United States, where our constitution began with the words "we the people," where suffrage was nearly universal, and nearly every office elective, or depending on the issue of elections, democratic Administration seemed the most natural. My visitor and I discoursed of these things in good part; he, as a Monarchist; I, as a Republican.

June 9. We were at a rout at Mrs. Henry Baring's last night, Berkeley Square.

\*\*\*\*\*, an American present, bore hard upon the United States. What was said, was little to the advantage of the head or heart of the speaker. I will not repeat or comment upon it. It is the first instance of the kind I have yet met with from an American in England; and let it be charitably hoped that they were only sallies of the moment.

June 10. Last night we went to Covent Garden to see Mrs. Siddons in Lady Randolph. Her fame had been familiar to me from youth; and her appearance upon the

stage is still imposing, I may say superb; though of late years she has ceased to act almost entirely. Her enunciation was highly eloquent and impressive. Charles Kemble played young Norval; Macready, Glenalvon; and Young, the Stranger. Altogether, it was a dramatic treat.

June 13. Desiring to see Lord Castlereagh on the business of the West-India Trade, I wrote him the following note:—

Mr. Rush presents his compliments to Lord Castlereagh, and begs he will be so good as to appoint a time when it will be convenient to allow him the honour of an interview.

June 9, 1819. 51 Baker Street.

To which I received the following answer:—

Lord Castlereagh presents his compliments to Mr. Rush, and will be happy to receive him at his house, in St. James's Square, to-morrow at twelve o'clock.

Foreign Office, June 12, 1819.

The interview accordingly took place to-day, the 13th. It was the mode in which all official interviews between us were appointed, unless, meeting in society, we arranged them verbally.

I began by reminding him of the point at which the discussions respecting the West-India Trade, had left off at the negotiation

between our two Governments last autumn, and by assuring him of the President's earnest desire to see the trade opened upon a footing of entire and liberal reciprocity, rather than suffer it to stagnate; or to be crippled by countervailing laws and regulations. In this spirit I was instructed to offer a projet which had been carefully drawn up upon the basis of a compromise between the pretensions of the two countries, and which would be found to fall in so fully with the propositions of Great Britain in some respects, and make such an approximation to them in others, that a hope was cherished by my Government of its proving acceptable.

In particular, it would be found to adopt the description of naval stores and lumber, as articles to be exported from the United States, upon which the British Plenipotentiaries had themselves insisted last autumn; confining the former to pitch, tar, and turpentine, and the latter to staves, heading, and shingles; contrary to the more enlarged signification, which it had been the desire of Mr. Gallatin and myself to give to the list. That it acquiesced also in the exclusion of all salted provisions, including the important article of fish. That it moreover came wholly into the British views in consenting to the exclusion of sugar and coffee, as articles to be imported into the



United States directly from the British West Indies; it being understood that the above traffic was to be open upon equal terms, in all respects, to American and British vessels.

In return for such an accommodation to the colonial views of Great Britain, the projet asked on our side, that the list of articles to be exported from the United States to the West Indies, should be the same as to Bermuda, and to the British North American Colonies; that the articles to be exported to the United States, should be confined to such as were of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of the above islands or colonies; and that the same duties and no more, should be payable on importations from the United States into the West Indies, whether the articles were brought directly or indirectly, as on similar articles imported into the West Indies from any foreign country; or from any of the British Colonies.

With this outline of the substantial part of its contents, I handed his lordship a copy of the projet.

The discussions between the Plenipotentiaries of the two Governments last autumn, having been ample on the matters which the projet embraced, I thought that nothing was likely to be gained by leaving room for the

hope that any of its essential provisions would be departed from ; and I, therefore, deem it best to say with frankness in the first instance, that, as it was offered, so it was to be taken ; as my present instructions would not allow me to deviate from it, unless on points verbal or otherwise immaterial.

He received it with an assurance that a full and candid consideration would be given to it. The pressure of parliamentary business might, he said, delay an attention to it perhaps for some weeks ; but that it should be taken up at as early a day as practicable. I said that every necessary object would be attained on our side, if a decision were communicated to me in time to be made known to my Government before the meeting of Congress, which would take place early in December, I added, that should our propositions prove acceptable, I was empowered to make them supplementary to the convention of the 20th of October, which Mr. Gallatin and I had signed with the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain ; subject always to the ratification of the Senate of the United States.

There were no other express matters of business necessary to be gone into at this interview ; but before it ended, I adverted to other things. Amongst them, the state of

the Foreign Enlistment Bill in the House of Commons; which his Lordship gave me to understand left no doubt of its becoming a law; and next, the rumours about Cuba. On the latter I remarked, that I should be under no anxiety, if the newspapers had not ascribed to the Duke of San Carlos, the declaration that it was about to be added to his Majesty's colonial dominions in America; but I hoped the newspapers were mistaken! His lordship replied, that the Duke of San Carlos probably knew as little of it as he did.

The Foreign Enlistment Bill, finally, did pass both Houses of Parliament, but not without strong opposition, on the ground of trenching too much on the regular laws of England, and on public law; and as not called for by England's treaty with Spain, or any of her international duties or obligations.

June 15. Dined at the Russian Ambassador's. We had, among others, Mr. and Mrs. Dashkoff, lately arrived from the United States, where Mr. Dashkoff was Minister Plenipotentiary from Russia. Went next to a rout at the Persian Ambassador's in Charles Street, where five hundred were present; and afterwards to a party at Lansdowne House, more agreeable from being smaller.

June 17. Attended the Prince Regent's

drawing-room. It was extremely full; three thousand were said to have been there. It was a birth-day celebration, though not the actual anniversary, as mentioned formerly.

I presented General Harper, of Maryland, and late of the United States Senate, to the Prince Regent; also to the Duke of Kent, and the Princess Augusta; happy to have done so in the case of this distinguished American.

The Duke and Duchess of Bedford, the Duke of Grafton, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Earl Grosvenor, were present; which, to those inclined to think any change of Ministry in contemplation, as \* \* \* \* \* ten days ago, might be taken as omens; the first two not having been at Court for years, it is said, and the others coming very seldom.

At seven, I went to the large dinner given by Lord Castlereagh to the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, in celebration of the day. France, Austria, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Saxony, Wirtemberg, Spain, Portugal, Naples, Sardinia, and some of the smaller Courts, were represented at the table, each Ambassador and Minister being in the diplomatic dress of his country. There were also present, two Princes of Hesse; Count Woronzoff; General Woronzoff, the latter commander-in-chief of the late Russian army of occupation



in France ; Sir Gore Ouseley, late Ambassador from England to Persia ; Mr. Bagot, late British Minister at Washington ; Mr. Lamb, late British Minister at Munich ; Mr. Frere, the same at Madrid ; Mr. Thornton, the same at Rio Janeiro ; Mr. Onis, late Spanish Minister at Washington ; Lord Clanwilliam, Mr. Planta, Mr. Morier, and Mr. Hamilton. Altogether, there was an assemblage of functionaries from other nations, and of British Foreign Ministers returned from service abroad, or at home on leave, larger than I had before seen on any similar occasion in England.

We went to dinner a little before eight, according to the precedence observed at entertainments of this nature. At table, I had on my left the Saxon Minister, Baron Just. On my right was Baron Fagel, Ambassador from the Netherlands. Next to him sat Lord Castlereagh, who, on this occasion, took the middle of his table. On his right was Count Lieven, the Russian Ambassador ; and next to him Prince Esterhazy, the Austrian. Amidst the profusion of plate for such a dinner, some of it, I observed, had the royal arms, but generally those of his Lordship's family. The table ornaments, abundant light, and variegated national costumes, presented, as we took our seats, an array very striking. It might have given the idea of

an European Congress for that evening, to which the United States had been also invited.

Baron Just inquired of me for Mr. Adams, whom he had known well, and of whom he spoke highly. He said, that he knew the politics of all Europe. He described his letter to our Minister at Madrid, on the cases of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, as one of great ability; and asked, whether, after that transaction, followed up by adding the Floridas to our dominion, I did not suppose England would be likely to aim at obtaining Cuba from Spain, if she had not already, of which there were strong rumors? This question was in a tone, not to carry it beyond my ear. *Mr. Onis* sat on the left of Baron Just, and I said to the latter that I would be happy if he would make that inquiry of his neighbour, and favor me with the result! The Baron did—carrying it off well. *Mr. Onis* said, just loud enough for me to hear, “The American Minister may feel easy, Spain has not ceded Cuba to England, and does not mean to;” an item of information which, however informally derived, it may be imagined the American Minister imparted to his Government in due time afterwards.

And now I will allude to an incident which also couples itself with the “American Minister,” yet in a light so truly national, that he

must not drop it from this day's memorandum.

After the principal courses were over, and the single toast had been given by Lord Castlereagh, viz. "His Royal Highness the Prince Regent," without further word, the company all rising in due form as he gave it, conversation opened between his Lordship and Baron Fagel on the state of tranquillity which now reigned in Europe. It was remarked by them, how happily it contrasted with the bloody wars which had so recently raged; and how interesting was the spectacle of beholding Ambassadors and Ministers from all Europe assembled in amity and peace at that table, instead of being engaged in the work of counteracting each other, as all had so lately been doing, in hostile camps and cabinets. Sitting next to Baron Fagel, the opportunity was afforded me of sharing a little in this conversation. At its point of chief interest, Lord Castlereagh, bending forward so as to give me his voice, said, "Yes, and may the happy tranquillity we are speaking of, long continue! Europe requires repose; each state has had enough of war, and enough of glory, and ought to be content." Here he paused an instant, but, resuming, he proceeded, "and you too, you of America, Mr. Rush, ought also to be satisfied; you left off

very well, and ought to wish for nothing but a continuance of peace."

I felt this delicately conveyed compliment to my country. He knew that our war with Britain had terminated in victory on our side, by sea and land. I could not fail to perceive, that the compliment passed in under tones along the table, the side at least on which I was, though heard at first only by the few near Lord Castlereagh. Acceptable to me, it bespoke conscious patriotism in him. He felt that Britain's ample renown in arms could spare the compliment to the free and martial race she founded in America; therefore, with the manly grace belonging to him, he uttered it, the representatives of the crowned heads of Europe sitting by as his guests. It was high official courtesy, and I record it with as much pleasure as I experienced it.

Rising from table, the company returned to the drawing-rooms, where coffee was handed, and conversation continued in the harmonious feeling of the day. In an hour all adjourned to Prince Esterhazy's, with a ball at whose house the festivities of this birth-day celebration wound up. The Prince Regent was at it, the ladies of all the Ambassadors and Ministers, with a large assemblage in addition.



## CHAPTER VIII.

PARTY AT CARLTON HOUSE. — CONVERSATION ABOUT CUBA. — DINNER AT MR. GEORGE PHILLIPS'S. — DINNER AT MR. TRAIL'S. — THE BOX PRESENTED BY THE EARL OF BUCHAN TO GENERAL WASHINGTON. — NOTE FROM LORD CASTLE-REAGH ON SPECIAL AUDIENCES OF THE PRINCE REGENT. — DINNER AT THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S. — LETTER TO MR. GALLATIN. — CUBA. — THE FLORIDA TREATY. — THE WEST INDIA TRADE. — PARTY AT GROSVENOR HOUSE. — ARRIVAL OF THE AMERICAN STEAM-SHIP SAVANNAH, AT LIVERPOOL.

June 19. WENT to Carlton House last night. The lower rooms were full; Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, Members of the Cabinet, Members of Parliament, and numerous official and titled persons, forming the company. Conversed half an hour with Lord Liverpool and Lord Harrowby; with the latter on Gibbon's style, and with both about Bonaparte. Neither of them admired his character. They spoke as British statesmen who had been long opposed to him; nor did I think that they said too much of his inordinate ambition. Taking all his career

into view, they agreed, that wanton cruelty could not be made out against him.

Finding myself in accidental conversation with two members of the cabinet, the Premier and the President of the Council, I improved the opportunity of alluding to Cuba. I said to Lord Liverpool, that I was glad to infer, from some transient words falling from Lord Castlereagh, that the newspaper rumors of that island being about to change owners were not to be regarded. He replied, that newspaper rumors here, as with us probably, were often very idle; and that if Government undertook to notice them all, it would have its hands full. Although he was no more explicit than this, I make the same inference from his words as from Lord Castlereagh's; and am therefore still disposed, in the language of Mr. Onis, to "feel easy." I catch a general sentiment in the diplomatic corps, that none of the great powers would desire to see Cuba ceded to England, considering the vastness of her colonial dominion already; and I cannot think that her Ministers would wish to go against this general sentiment, to say nothing of the objections which the United States would naturally have to the measure. This is the tone in which I have written to my Government so far, upon this subject; and,

with my present knowledge and impressions, I shall continue it.

June 20. Dined at Mr. George Phillips's yesterday, Member of the House of Commons, Mount Street. We had Mr. Brougham, Mr. Cavendish, Mr. Chinnery, Mr. Erskine, Mr. Abercrombie, and other Members of Parliament; and among the ladies, Mrs. Erskine, and Lady Cork. The evening passed off well. Mr. Brougham contributed largely to the conversation. He talked with his usual animation and promptness. Nothing could be alluded to which he did not seem to know; or any person mentioned of whom he was ignorant. He told anecdotes of public men, rapidly glancing at things which seemed to spring up in his memory after he began. As for example: speaking of Lord Chancellor Eldon, (*bags* they call him, said he, great a man as he is,) and then went on with his anecdote. So when he happened to have the Vice Chancellor in hand, (and he, what should they call *him*, but *reticule*,) and after thus throwing him also into a parenthesis, proceeded with his narrative.

June 21. Dine at Mr. Trail's, Upper Brook Street. We had the Earl of Buchan, (to whose letter to me, Lord Erskine alluded at the Duchess of Cumberland's,) Mr. David

Montagu Erskine, Mrs. Erskine, Miss Erskine, and others.

With Lord Buchan, the incident of the lost letter, mentioned in Chapter X. of the former volume, was not forgotten in our conversation. He was pleased to speak kindly of my father, saying, besides other things grateful to a son, that he had known him in Scotland, whilst there to receive his education, and been in correspondence with him nearly fifty years; and that nothing struck him more than the identity of character kept up throughout all his letters. He regretted the loss of the "box," all the circumstances of which, I explained.

He spoke of General Washington, as others present did, paying tributes to his great name. He said that he was related to him through the maternal stock, Washington's mother, like his own, being of the Fairfaxes'. The Washington family, from which the General sprung, he added, was related to the family of Earl Ferrers. Cordial things were said of our country by several of the company. Mrs. Erskine was born there; and it was delightful to find, doubly so to those who remembered her young and beautiful as Miss Cadwallader of Philadelphia, that though a good Englishwoman, which her marriage made a duty, she had a heart not to forget her native land.



This estimable woman died not long since at one of the German Courts, as Lady Erskine, her husband, Lord Erskine, then being British Minister there.

The "box" alluded to, was one made out of the oak that sheltered Wallace after the battle of Falkirk. It had been presented to General Washington by the Earl of Buchan, with a request that the General would give it at his decease, to the man in his country who should appear to merit it best. General Washington did not decide that question; but in his will restored it to the Earl, with expressions of respect and thankfulness. His Lordship, having it again, sent it to my father, so long his American correspondent. The gentleman charged to convey it to him from Scotland, had the misfortune to lose it while coming to Philadelphia from New York, where he landed. The stage was robbed during the night, and his trunk, which contained the "box," carried off. Every effort was made to regain it, but in vain.

June 23. Mr. and Mrs. Dashkoff, General and Mrs. Harper, Miss Caton, Mr. John Adams Smith, and others, dine with us. Conversation runs on the United States and England; Mr. Dashkoff, apparently full of good feeling towards the United States, produced

by his residence among us as Minister from Russia; and General Harper giving out remarks on what has struck him in England, showing his enlightened and discriminating mind.

June 24. Receive the following note from Lord Castlereagh, on a point of ceremony.

Lord Castlereagh presents his compliments to Mr. Rush, and in consequence of the inconvenience which has occasionally arisen from the Master of the Ceremonies not being apprised in time of the wish of the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers to obtain audiences of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, begs to suggest to Mr. Rush, as the best mode of preventing such inconvenience in future, that he should, at the same time that he intimates his request for such an audience to his Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, have the goodness to acquaint the Master of the Ceremonies that he has made that communication to the Secretary of State.

Lord Castlereagh requests Mr. Rush to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

Foreign Office, June 21, 1819.

A similar note was sent to all the Members of the Diplomatic Corps. I reply to mine.

Mr. Rush presents his compliments to Lord Castlereagh, and has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of his note of the 21st of this month, suggesting that, in consequence of the inconvenience which has occasionally arisen from the Master of the Ceremonies not being apprized in time of the wish of the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers to obtain audiences of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, it would be desirable that they should, while requesting an audience through his Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, inform at the same time the Master of the Ceremonies of such request, as the best mode of preventing, for the future, the inconvenience alluded to. Mr. Rush begs to say, that he will have great pleasure in conforming to this suggestion, and has the honor to tender to Lord Castlereagh the assurances of his distinguished consideration.

London, June 24, 1819,

51 Baker Street.

June 25. Dined yesterday at the Duke of Wellington's. Besides the Duke and Duchess, we had General and Mrs. Harper, Mr. Percy, Mr. Gerald Wellesley—a brother of the Duke, and two gentlemen from the Continent. The Duke had written me a courteous note, to say

that General and Mrs. Harper were to dine with him, and asking my wife and self to meet them at short notice; which we were the more happy to do, as it bespoke a dinner of the less form. It was at Apsley House.

A colossal statue of Bonaparte, presented to the Duke by the King of France, stands in the hall. In the library there was also a full length painting of him, said to be an excellent likeness; and, among other busts in the same room, one of Cicero, which the Duke spoke of as an original, as far as could be ascertained. It was of marble, showing the marks of time. The blemish, *cicer*, was observable on the face. In the drawing-room was a likeness of Shakespeare, taken from a picture, believed to be an original, found many years ago in an old ale-house in the neighbourhood of Stratford-upon-Avon, under the paper on the wall.

As it devolved upon me to take the Duchess in to dinner, the honor of sitting next to her at table was also mine. She told anecdotes of Madame de Stäel, whom she had known while the Duke was Ambassador at Paris after Bonaparte's overthrow. They were very characteristic of that remarkable woman, whose pen handled Napoleon in a degree only second to the Duke's sword.

The Duke took the head of his table. The



Duchess was opposite. The Duke talked with the ease which a long intercourse with the world in its greatest circles gives. The quantity of food necessary for soldiers being spoken of, he said that he had commanded them of many different nations, and never knew any that could long subsist, under the trials of a campaign, with less than two pounds a-day, whether bread of some kind altogether, or a mixture of bread with animal food; and added, that this applied to the native troops of India, who required their two pounds of rice in the twenty-four hours. Of the population of India then subject to England, he remarked, that it had always seemed to him overrated; he could not pretend to accuracy, but he doubted if it exceeded twenty millions. This struck me very much, having been under the more prevalent belief that it was greatly beyond that amount. Perhaps there might be seen in the remark a characteristic of the Duke's mind, not to be led away by exaggerations. More conversation passed, which had the greater charm from the company being small, and without ceremony, beyond that intrinsically belonging to the table of such a man. In the course of it, a newspaper paragraph was alluded to, which mentioned a curious spectacle lately witnessed at the seat

of the Marquis of Anglesea. One of the Marquis's brothers, who was a captain of the navy, Lord Uxbridge, the Marquis's son, and also one of his daughters, being all at his country seat, it was stated that the Marquis had but one leg, his brother but one arm, that his son was on crutches from a wound in the knee, and that his daughter had lost her right hand whilst attending her husband at one of the battles in Spain. The Duke said it was not true that the lady had lost her hand. The rest he believed was. We had a Spanish ham on table. It is a common remark, that each country thinks it has the best hams, but the Spanish seem preferred in England at luxurious dinners—they say from being fed on chesnuts.

At coffee in the drawing-room, the social tone seemed to relax even more agreeably. We were shown by the Duchess a set of French breakfast china belonging to Joseph Bonaparte while King of Spain, which the Duke took in one of his campaigns; and under such hot pursuit that grounds were still in the coffee-pot, and warm. Anecdotes growing out of this little incident were told, showing the risks which royalty has to run in war; so also in Pompey's days, when Cæsar took his camp, he found sideboards loaded with plate, all

ready for a festival to celebrate the victory Pompey had expected. The interest of the evening increased when General Harper and the Duke got upon Bonaparte's campaign to Moscow. My countryman was fond of military history, and no tyro in it. It became him indeed to speak cautiously before the Duke, as he did; but his knowledge was subservient towards drawing out a little this great commander. I was of the knot where the conversation was going on; it touched things and characters belonging to the late European wars generally. Amongst names brought up, was that of the Archduke Charles of Austria. General Harper spoke favorably of him, though with guards to leave room for the Duke's opinion. The Duke took up the commendation of him decidedly. As regarded military science, he said that he probably had more than any General in Europe; there were reasons why he had not succeeded against Bonaparte as fully as he otherwise would have done; one perhaps was, from overrating him; but it was chiefly from being subject to fits, which were apt to come upon him after he had been fighting a few hours. His powers then failed him—great as they otherwise were. It was to this effect he spoke of him. Of the virtuous character and good intentions of the

Emperor of Austria he spoke in the highest terms.

It was in this manner the evening passed. I had seen and conversed with the Duke frequently before; but not so fully, or when reserve had so much worn off. In his whole conversation there was a simplicity delightful to witness in a man whose name in arms surpasses Marlborough's, by the amount and splendor of his deeds, both in Asia and Europe; whose knowledge is so extensive and various; and to whose statesmanship the powers of Europe have deferred as much as to his military renown; of whom it can be said also, in a sphere of praise still higher, that, tried by the ordinary standards of great men, his career has been unusually pure; no improper ambition; no corruption of any kind; no intrigue; no discontent; no double dealing, ever chargeable upon him; on the contrary, everything honest, straightforward, and brave, whilst serving his country, no matter where or how. Such fame is rare. Britain has a right to be proud of it, and all nations may respect it. Before coming away, he invited my wife and self to visit him at his country estate, Strathfieldsay.

June 29. Prince Esterhazy visits me. Says that by all his information, obtained



here or from Madrid, there is no truth in the rumor of the cession of Cuba to England; he finds it discredited by those likely to be best informed. I agree with him in his disbelief, and in talking the subject over, our reasons are much the same.

June 30. The subjoined letter to Mr. Galatin, relating to international affairs heretofore referred to, is inserted to keep up the connexion of them.

London, June 30, 1819.

DEAR SIR,

You will probably know more of the state of affairs in Spain, as far as they may be likely to effect us, than I do. The rumor of Mr. Onis being about to succeed the Marquis Yrujo in the ministry, was afloat here on the first arrival of the former in this capital from the United States, and was even repeated by the Duke of San Carlos.

Whether the Florida treaty is to be ratified by Spain, seems now the question; and it is one which excites some interest here. I find it surmised that this Government is using its influence to prevent the ratification; but I have no evidence of it. Mr. Onis when here, was very confident in his assertions that it would be ratified. The Duke of San

Carlos continues to hold language to the same effect.

The Duke is also equally unequivocal in his declarations of disbelief that Cuba is to be ceded to Great Britain. No credit is given to this rumor in any well-informed circle in London. Many reasons are opposed to it, one of which, however, would probably be weakened should the late change of ministry in Spain have brought with it any decline of Russian influence at Madrid.

It has only been since Mr. Sheldon's arrival in London that I have heard from our Government respecting the unfinished subjects of our negotiations last autumn.

As regards the West India trade, I am authorised to accept the restricted list of articles proposed by the British Plenipotentiaries in their projet offered at the eighth conference; also to submit to the exclusion of all salted provisions, fish included, and to the confined list of naval stores and lumber among the importable, and to the exclusion of sugar and coffee from the list of exportable articles in American vessels, in the direct trade. But with the express condition, that the list of importable articles to the West Indies shall be the same as that to Bermuda and to the British North American Colonies; and that the

exportable articles shall be confined to such as are of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British West India Islands and North American Colonies; and that no other or higher duties shall be payable on importations from the United States, directly or indirectly, than on similar articles imported from any foreign country, or from any of the British Colonies themselves.

The foregoing is the substance of my instructions. I have submitted articles to Lord Castlereagh in conformity with them, to which an answer is promised after Parliament rises. I doubt their being accepted. If they should not be, I fancy that our Government has made up its mind to go on with the system of countervailing laws. The opinion at home I find rather is, that we are likely to succeed if we persevere. I inclose you a report made to the Senate on this subject last winter.

Nothing has been said to me about impressment, or the slave question. Both points therefore rest for the present, where our joint negotiations last autumn left them.

I am to be at the Spanish Ambassador's tomorrow night. Should I hear anything material, and Mr. Sheldon have gone, I will drop you a line by post.

Accept assurances of the respect and friend-

ship with which I am, dear Sir, your obedient  
servant,

RICHARD RUSH.

To Albert Gallatin, Esq. Envoy Extraordi-  
nary, and Minister Plenipotentiary from  
the United States, Paris.

July 2. Went to a party at Grosvenor House last night; the rooms filled and looking as before. Go afterwards to the Spanish Ambassador's. Some Cabinet Ministers are there, and most of the Diplomatic Corps. Owing to the crowd and other hindrances, I collected no information for Mr. Gallatin. Made attempts, but was cut off from all opportunities.

July 3. In the course of a dispatch to the Secretary of State of this date, I mention that the American steam-ship Savannah, Captain Rogers, arrived at Liverpool on the 20th of last month, to the surprise of the people of that town, as she came up the river under the power of steam. She is a vessel of above three hundred tons burden, as Captain Rogers, who has been to see me, states; and is the first that has crossed the ocean by steam. He also stated that she worked with great ease and safety on the voyage, and used her steam full eighteen days. Her passage was twenty-six days, the weather, in general, having been very unfavorable; besides that she was detained



five days in the Irish Channel until she could get fresh coal, his own giving out when she entered the channel. He had laid in fifteen hundred bushels. Her engine is equal to a seventy-two-horse power, and acts horizontally. Her wheels are on the sides, made of iron, and removable at pleasure. These particulars he mentioned, which I repeated in my dispatch.

## CHAPTER IX.

VISIT TO HOLKHAM, THE ESTATE OF MR. COKE, NORFOLK COUNTY.—THE SHEEP-SHEARING.—PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.—ENTERTAINMENT AT CARLTON HOUSE.—LORD CASTLEREAGH SPEAKS OF THE FLORIDA TREATY.—WHAT HE AFTERWARDS SAYS ON THAT SUBJECT, AND ON THE CASES OF ARBUTHNOT AND AMBRISTER, AT THE AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR'S.

July 12. YESTERDAY I returned from a visit to Mr. Coke, of Holkham, Norfolk county. He invited me last year; but unable, from duties under an approaching negotiation to leave town at that time, I was forced to decline, which gave me double pleasure in accepting this year. I met a large company. We had the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Albemarle, Lord Huntingfield, Sir Henry Fane, Sir Henry Erne, Sir Jacob Astley, Sir John Sinclair, Sir William Bolton, General Fitzroy, Captain Edgell of the navy, Mr. Wilbraham of Cheshire, Mr. Beckford of Suffolk, Mr. Maude of Yorkshire, Mr. Beaumont of the House of Commons, Dr. Rigby, Mr. Owen, Mr. Bennett, Sir Robert Harland, the Marquis of Tavistock, Lord Barrington, the Earl of Brad-

ford, Lord Nugent, and many others, whose names I cannot recal. Of my countrymen, there were General Harper of Maryland, General Boyd of Boston, Mr. Oliver and Mr. Patterson of Baltimore, Mr. Somerville of Maryland, and Mr. Ogle Taylor of Virginia, the latter an attaché to my legation.

Holkham is among the best cultivated estates in England. Of the entire system of agriculture by which Mr. Coke has so greatly improved it, as well as benefited England by his example of good farming during more than forty years, thus increasing the public wealth as well as his own, I am not qualified to speak properly. The whole has been well described by Dr. Rigby, of Norwich, in his excellent little work, entitled, "Holkham and its agriculture;" but I may note in general terms a few of the things which struck me as an American and stranger, in my visit of a week to this celebrated estate.

The occasion on which we were assembled, was called "The Sheep-shearing." It was the forty-third anniversary of this attractive festival; attractive even to Englishmen, accustomed as they are to agricultural beauty, and to fine old country homesteads, established and maintained throughout ages, in so many different parts of England. The term "Sheep-shearing,"

conveys, by itself, but a limited idea of what is witnessed at Holkham. The operations embrace every thing connected with agriculture in the broadest sense; such as, an inspection of all the farms which make up the Holkham estate, with the modes of tillage practised on each for all varieties of crops; an exhibition of cattle, with the modes of feeding and keeping them; ploughing matches; hay-making; a display of agricultural implements, and modes of using them; the visiting of various out-buildings, stables, and so on, best adapted to good farming, and the rearing and care of horses and stock; with much more that I am unable to specify. Sheep-shearing there was, indeed, but it was only one item in this full round of practical agriculture. The whole lasted three days, occupying the morning of each, until dinner-time at about five o'clock. The shearing of sheep was the closing operation of the third day.

Such is the general scene, as far as agriculture is concerned, which is its primary object. Mr. Coke explains to his guests and friends, all his processes and results. This is done without form, in conversation on his grounds, or at the dinner-table; and, even more impressively, on horseback. Then it is that you have more of the port of the old English



country gentleman as he rides from field to field, and farm to farm, attended by his friends, who are also mounted. From these also, he invites inquiry and criticism; and, from those agricultural in their pursuits, a communication of their modes of farming, that results may be compared, and truth the better arrived at, in this great science.

Of the social scene which goes hand in hand with it all, I hardly dare trust myself to speak, lest I should seem to exaggerate. The number of Mr. Coke's guests, meaning those lodged at his mansion, was, I believe, about fifty, comprehending those I have named and others, as I could scarcely know all in a visit of a week. But his friends and neighbours of the county of Norfolk, and other country gentlemen and visitors from parts of England farther off, arriving every morning after breakfast in carriages or on horseback during the continuance of the scene under invitations from Mr. Coke to be present at it and stay to dinner, amounted to about six hundred each day. On the second day I was informed that, including the home guests, covers were laid down for six hundred and fifty. All were comfortably accommodated, and fared sumptuously. Holkham House covers an acre of ground. Looking at it on one of the mornings with the

Duke of Bedford and others, and viewing its imposing centre, from which proceed four wings connected by corridors, the general conjecture seemed to be that such an edifice could scarcely be built at the present day for less than half a million of pounds sterling. It was built, I understood, in the middle or early part of last century, by Lord Leicester, who was many years in Italy, where he studied the models upon which, after his return to England, it was erected.

Of the furniture in such a mansion, the paintings, tapestry, mirrors, rural ornaments, and all else, it need but be said that it is adapted to the mansion. The library, of many thousand volumes, is a treasure; and (shall I tell it?) *there*, on one of the days when I entered it during a short interval between the morning excursions and the dinner hour, did I catch stragglers of the home guests, *country* gentlemen too, who had not been out to the fields or farms at all, though they had come all the way to Holkham to attend the sheep-shearing. And no wonder! In part, they were of the younger portion of the guests (*Young-uns*, as Mr. Coke slyly said in jeering them), not long from the University; so recently, that the love of practically inspecting wheat-fields, even if they had yielded twice

twelve combs the acre, or of seeing turnips drilled in ridges on the Northumberland method, or of walking upon lawns of grass produced by *dotting*, had not yet so deadened classical ardor as to keep them from stealing off to where they could find curious editions of Pliny, and Ovid, and the Georgics; or, if they liked Italian better, lay their hands on the Boccaccio which Cosmo de Medici sent as a present to Alphonso, King of Naples; or turn to something else seducing in literature. Mr. Coke was, I believe, himself a Cambridge man. He has been forty years in Parliament, and to this day proclaims that he voted on the side of America during the war of our revolution throughout the whole contest; even at a time when only two or three others in the House of Commons besides himself continued to stand up for our cause.

On the first day after my arrival, the company at dinner consisted of the home guests only, the agricultural scenes not beginning until the day following. Among other massive plate upon the table was a large fabric of silver in the form of an urn, highly ornamented. It stood conspicuously as the centre piece, and was a present to Mr. Coke by the inhabitants of Norfolk, as a mark of their gratitude for the good he had done the county



by improving the condition of its agriculture, and contained appropriate emblems and an inscription. Among the former was a representation of the mode of cultivating by drill; a Southdown sheep; a North Devon cow; and other figures illustrative of improvements in husbandry introduced or successfully practised by Mr. Coke. The inhabitants of the county having, at first, opposed many of the improvements, and especially on the ground that his innovations trenched upon the labor and comforts of the poor, the inscription embraced an acknowledgment of their error, in terms complimentary to him and very honorable to them. It was a beautiful trophy all round.

On the first of the festival days, the company in the statue-gallery, a very large room, amounted probably to a couple of hundred. All were accommodated at two tables. Mr. Coke presided at one; the Duke of Bedford at the other. It was my fortune to be at the former, and next to Mr. Coke. Throughout successive rooms communicating with each other and with the statue-gallery, tables were laid for all the other guests; therefore, though none of the tables were in sight from our room, which opened to the others from doors at the end, voices could be heard from them all.



The dinner courses being finished, Mr. Coke rose to bid all his guests welcome, and express the pleasure he felt in seeing them at Holkham.

His first toast was "LIVE AND LET LIVE." This was known to be applicable to his own system, which was to let his farms at moderate rents under leases not too long, and not be hard with his tenant; a system which, in the long run, had benefited equally himself and his tenants.

The toast was received with rapturous applause from room to room; as the voices pealed through all, the effect was highly animating. It was not less so when the Duke of Bedford was given as a toast, with allusions by Mr. Coke to the services of his family in the cause of public liberty. The shouts that followed each toast, echoing through the apartments of this stately mansion standing alone in the midst of a rural domain, and heard somewhat faintly in our statue-gallery from the distant rooms, but still heard, had something in them to fill the fancy. The whole scene seemed to recall baronial days, the "moated ramparts, embattled towers, and trophied halls." It brought back the remembrance of feudal banquets, as if here seen in alliance with modern freedom and refinements.

So at least I felt. Others may have had less of this feeling, or none of it, unless my own countrymen present. Perhaps more of the romance of English history is apt to linger about an American than an Englishman. To the former the whole is an abstraction, like ancient history, until he gets to England; then, Waterloo Bridge, built yesterday, and any vestige of the days of the Plantagenets are equally new to his senses. Saxon days, Norman days, and modern days, seem to burst upon him at once, and, for a while, all engross his thoughts together.

Mr. Coke gave my name as a toast, to make it the medium of friendly sentiments towards the United States, which he strongly expressed, and which were echoed from room to room in tones gratifying to me and my countrymen. In the course of his remarks he paid a tribute to the character of Washington. I rose to make my acknowledgements; and, in reference to his notice of Washington, I said, that it was indeed a name to which every American looked with as much of veneration as might be paid to a mortal, and that the manner in which it had just been alluded to, and received before so numerous and distinguished an assemblage in England, was a new proof that his fame was a

part of history, and his virtues the property of mankind. I spoke of Mr. Coke as the friend of America, whom we honored as such, yet ever true to his own country whilst loving ours; and I asked permission to propose as a toast "MR. COKE AND THE HOLKHAM AGRICULTURE," not merely as a high gratification to my own feelings, but from being sure, also, that my countrymen would all eagerly join in it. The toast was kindly received.

The Holkham estate commands in part a view of the sea, to which some of its boundaries extend. Although the sittings at dinner each day were not short, under the abundant topics and occasional speeches (happily none of them long) which the festivities drew out, there is yet so prolonged a twilight in England at this season, that a remnant of time was on hand for walks or drives, after rising from table. On leaving it one of the evenings, Mr. Coke invited me to a seat with him in his carriage. After our active campaign on horseback all the morning, and the exciting scene at the dinner-table during several hours, a quiet drive in the cool of the evening through beautiful scenery and grounds, with such a host, was a delightful recreation with which to close such a day, and fill up the measure of its agreeable recollections. We went in the direction of the



sea. Still full of the topics of the day, he could not speak but to impart information. He said that his timber, by careful planting, annually yielded almost as large a revenue as the whole of his estate when he first came to the possession of it. It was chiefly the chestnut and black Italian poplar that he planted, — sometimes other sorts, and always in quantities to replace, as each year came round, the number of acres annually deprived of timber. Time thus kept up the supply, planting keeping even pace with cutting down; a process the more striking to an American, in whose country timber, for the most part, is removed to get at the soil—instead of being grown as an agricultural crop, to yield its annual harvests. Something else he said that may deserve a memorandum. It was, that although banking along the sea-side was considered the hardest work done in Norfolk county by laboring men, those who followed it drank nothing but water; they had plenty of animal food, but found their strength fail them if they drank either beer or spirits.

As the chariot drove on, we forgot agriculture in other and easy talk. He told anecdotes. We had been out an hour. Presently we approached the little town of Wells, near the sea,—a fishing town. The wind freshened,



and we drew up the glasses as night came on. He asked if I knew anything of \* \* \* \* \* I replied that I did by rumor; it was a South Carolina story—a sad one. There, he said, in that little town, the person lives unknown to all. We staid a few minutes in the town, and could hear, as darkness was closing around us, the surging of the waters on the shore. Seated again in the chariot, our familiar conversation was resumed. We were soon in view of Holkham House once more, the twinkling lights showing that its festivities were not yet all at an end. When we got in, it was past ten. The general dinner company had dispersed; but of the home guests, a number still remained in the drawing-rooms; some conversing in little knots, others seated at whist tables. By eleven, most of them had dropped off to their bed-rooms. The few left had a summons to supper in the statue-gallery. Our table, to be sure, was of dimensions different from those at dinner; but we were headed by our host. Lord Nugent was of the small group, and well able to help keep the ball of conversation in motion at a late hour. It was in courtesy to me, that he made Commodore Perry, of our navy, one of his topics. He said that, when travelling in Italy, he had met him, and on his invitation, took a little trip with him from one

of the ports in his frigate—then the Java. He was struck with his chivalrous character; and, for his seamanship, mentioned this incident: that whilst attempting to beat his frigate through the Straits of Gibraltar, a British frigate was close in view. Some of the officers in the latter, not thinking it could be done, as the wind set, made bets upon the issue. The Java did it handsomely, which drew loud hurras from the winners on the English deck. Midnight passed before we went to bed.

The foregoing comprise some of the recollections of my visit. They give but an inadequate description of the interest and beauty of the whole scene. Of the manner in which Mr. Coke dispensed the hospitalities of the week, it would be impossible to say too much. All received from him the greatest attention and kindness. His landed property in Norfolk comprehends, I understood, more than thirty thousand acres, and he has estates in other parts of England. His income from the whole is rated, I believe, at 60,000*l.* sterling a year, going higher when agricultural prices are high. On one of the days we were shown through all the offices of the basement story of the house, and taken into the cellars. The latter were filled with the abundant and various

stores and wines to have been expected at a country homestead in England, long the seat of that species of hospitality where it would be hard to decide whether the eye is most struck with what is munificent, or the heart with what is kind. I had reason to know that, at Christmas and other seasons devoted to country festivities in England, although Holkham House was not indeed filled as I lately saw it, its hospitalities were bravely kept up. Mr. Blakie, the steward of Mr. Coke, informed us that the annual cost of malt liquors used for the entire Holkham establishment, including the working people out of doors, as well as servants of the household, was 3000*l*. This included the taxes upon it. The enclosure round the Park, is ten miles in extent. The arrangement and beauty of the gardens, and extent and productiveness of the kitchen garden, may be conceived better than I could describe them.

As to field-sports, fox-hounds are no longer kept, Mr. Coke having given them up in the early part of his life. But as for game, that pursuit goes on, *con amore*, as may be inferred when I venture to repeat what he told me; viz., that a few years ago, himself and friends had shot upon his grounds during the shooting season, twelve thousand rabbits and three

thousand hares, with the full proportion of pheasants and partridges.

Here I must end my little record of the Holkham Sheep-shearing. It has been faithfully but imperfectly made from notes taken on my return from it. Excellent as the Holkham agriculture was reputed to be in its day, what have not been the intermediate improvements? "SCIENCE WITH PRACTICE," to take the appropriate motto of the Agricultural Society, now established and in operation for all England, instead of letting agriculture depend only on the local societies as formerly, seems to have been working almost the same proportional results for the productiveness of the soil of late years in that country, that steam has been effecting in commerce and the mechanic arts, there, and every where. May other countries profit by her example in agriculture—the great foundation of the world's wealth, and which, under growing improvements, seems to give promise on grounds not irrational, that Britain's home dominions may sustain a population of eighty or even a hundred millions a century hence, more easily than thirty millions now. But no matter what the subsequent advancement of English agriculture or its results, Mr. Coke will ever take honorable rank among the



pioneers in the great work. Come what will in the future, the "Holkham Sheep-shearings" will live in English rural annals. Long will tradition speak of them as uniting improvements in agriculture, to an abundant, cordial and joyous hospitality.\*

July 13. A note from the Master of Ceremonies having informed me that the prorogation of Parliament takes place by the Prince Regent in person to-day at two o'clock, I go to the House of Lords to witness it. Forms were much the same as last year when Parliament was dissolved. Novelty therefore did not attract me, and I will not repeat the description; but being notified of the ceremonial by an officer of the Royal Household, I attended, as did the other Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers. A similar notice is given to them at the opening of Parliament, whenever the Sovereign attends in person.

July 16. Went with my wife to a "fancy ball," at Carlton House last night. The company consisted of probably more than a thousand. A fancy ball means, that dresses are to be worn not solely in the fashion of the present day in England, but *at the fancy* of the wearer; and accordingly, the fashions

\* Mr. Coke died as Earl of Leicester about two years ago.

of past ages and different nations are adopted. The effect is picturesque. A feudal baron of King John's time; a Crusader of the train of Richard Cœur de Lion; an English archer and French knight of the thirteenth century, the Black Prince himself, and a modern Tyrolese rifleman, may all be seen in the same group.

As to the ladies, one may be dressed like a Shepherdess of the Alps; another to personate the Maid of Orleans; a third, move in a state under a full court dress of the days of Queen Elizabeth; a fourth be in character as the Lady Phillipa of Hainault; a fifth as a flower-girl, and so on, throughout an endless variety of characters. I am not meaning to say, exactly, how portions of the company last night, were dressed, but to give a general idea of the "fancy ball." If any of the characters last night violated the proprieties of the age into which they stepped, educated eyes would detect them; which obliged the groups of patrician *dramatis personæ*, to revive their antiquarian learning in the field of costume. It may be inferred, that no cost was spared to meet the requisitions of this emulous scene at the domicile of an English Sovereign; and that among the many voluntary participants in it, resources of art and taste were sometimes

drawn upon in ways to attract favorable notice. The Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, Members of the Cabinet, and other official persons, were dressed as usual. These or portions of them, appeared to be occupied in beholding the pageant; or, it may be, that some were freshening their historical recollections under these outward characteristics of some six hundred years, personified before their eyes in the royal apartments. Mr. Canning, with whom I talked, appeared to enjoy it all, with quite a zest; as did probably other grave Members of both Houses of Parliament, who were present in the usual dress for evening entertainments in the Court circles. And why not enjoy it? The Speaker of the House of Commons in his address to the Prince Regent when the prorogation took place, had, only a day or two before, declared it to have been one of the longest and most arduous sessions known to the records of England; and is not recreation due after such labors?

Public men, however, think of public affairs at all times, and last night was no exception. More than one member of the diplomatic corps asked me in whispers, if I felt sure that England had no hand in stopping the ratification of the Florida Treaty? I replied, that I was very unwilling to believe it. One of them

said, that the rumors of the day were strong to that effect.

But why should the matter remain in doubt, when it might be made certain? Lord Castlereagh was present. See him when you would, he had always an ear for public affairs. I sought him in the glittering throng; but to be able to speak to a Minister of State at such a time in the way you desire, is not always easy: others seek him as well as yourself. There is always something to be said to the Foreign Secretary of a great nation, when the representatives of other nations and his own official colleagues surround him, even though it be at a "fancy ball." Some go to such scenes with perhaps no other object than to put a question to him, better so asked than under circumstances more formal: hence, you have to watch your chance. Mine came at last, when the entertainment was well nigh over. Then, after an introductory remark, I said to his Lordship, how much the interest of the evening would be increased to me, if he would put it in my power to say to my Government, that it was through no wish of His Majesty's Government that delays occurred in the ratification of our treaty, that thus my own belief might be confirmed.

He replied, that the difficulties, of what-



ever nature they might be, rested with Spain entirely, for that England was doing nothing to delay the ratification; and that of this I might feel assured.

It was very satisfactory to me to come away with such an assurance from Lord Castlereagh. The pleasure of mingling in a scene otherwise attractive, would have been marred by any intimation to the contrary.

July 19. Went to Prince Esterhazy's last night, the entertainment being in honor of the birth-day of his Sovereign. The Prince Regent was there, and in compliment to the occasion wore the uniform of an Austrian Field-marshal, the Duke of Wellington doing the same. There were present also, the Duke and Duchess of York, the Duke and Duchess of Kent, the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, the Princess Augusta, Prince Leopold,\* the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, and their ladies, and Lord and Lady Castlereagh, with several of the Cabinet Ministers and their ladies; the company not being numerous, but of much distinction.

I had a conversation with Lord Castlereagh, more than commonly interesting; for a notice of which, other incidents of the entertainment will be passed over.

\* Afterwards King of Belgium.

I improved a convenient moment for approaching him, to express the pleasure I had derived from what he said at Carlton House a few evenings before, about the Florida treaty.

He now remarked, with all friendliness of manner, that His Majesty's Government neither had done, nor would do, any thing whatever to prevent or retard its ratification.

I here renewed the expression of my satisfaction; telling him also, that I had already reported to my Government the assurance, transient and informal as it was, which he had given me at Carlton House.

He then recurred, of his own accord, to the affair of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. He remarked, that it had been a case of no common difficulty; the Cabinet had found it so, and he hoped that the proper inferences would be drawn by the Government of the United States, respecting the conciliatory dispositions of England on that occasion.

I replied, that I believed my Government would not fail to draw the proper inferences, and that certainly I had not failed in making communications calculated to lead to them; for that here, on the spot, I had seen, and fully appreciated the difficulties which encom-

passed His Majesty's Ministers; whose wisdom and firmness throughout that whole transaction, if I might presume to say so, I considered a blessing to both countries. He then added these words: That had the English Cabinet felt and acted otherwise than it did, such was the temper of Parliament, and such the feeling of the country, that he believed WAR MIGHT HAVE BEEN PRODUCED BY HOLDING UP A FINGER; and he even thought that an address to the Crown might have been carried for one, BY NEARLY AN UNANIMOUS VOTE.

These words made their impression upon me. I thought them memorable at the time: I think so still. They were calmly but deliberately spoken. Lord Castlereagh was not a man to speak hastily. Always self-possessed, always firm and fearless, his judgment was the guide of his opinions, and his opinions of his conduct, undaunted by opposition in Parliament or out of it. Political foes conceded to him these qualities. What he said to me on this occasion, I have reasons for knowing he said to others in effect, if not in words; and I wrote his words to my Government. The lapse of a quarter of a century ought not to diminish the feeling properly due to a British Ministry which, by its single will, resisting the nearly universal feeling of the two

great parties of the kingdom, in all probability prevented a war; a war into which passion might have rushed, but for the preponderating calmness and reason in those who wielded at that epoch the executive power of England.



## CHAPTER X.

ORDER IN COUNCIL PROHIBITING THE EXPORTATION OF ARMS TO SPAIN. — PARTY AT PRINCE LEOPOLD'S. — LETTERS TO MR. GALLATIN AND COLONEL TRUMBULL.— DINNER AT THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S.—NOTICE OF CERTAIN MEASURES OF PARLIAMENT. — AMONGST THEM MR. PEEL'S REPORT ON THE CURRENCY. — THE RIVER THAMES FROM WESTMINSTER BRIDGE TO THE COMMERCIAL DOCKS.

July 20. By an Order in Council passed last week, the exportation of gunpowder, saltpetre, or of arms and ammunition of any description from the ports of Great Britain, to any ports within the dominion of the King of Spain, is prohibited. This interdict comes opportunely after the Foreign Enlistment Bill. It takes the ground, as far as it goes, of neutrality in substance as well as name between Spain and the Colonies; there having been an order in force for some time prohibiting the exportation of the same things to Spanish America.

July 23. Last night we were at Prince Leopold's—Marlborough House. The Prince

Regent and most of the Royal Family were there; a great assemblage of nobility: the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, with many others of the Court circle.

This Prince, consort of the late heiress presumptive to the throne, long in retirement after her death, returns to society, and Marlborough House, built for the great Duke of Marlborough, becomes his residence and scene of his hospitalities. Being there, for the first time, last night, I could not divest myself of the historical associations which belong to the house. The spacious hall is ornamented with paintings illustrative of the Duke's victories. Among them is the great battle of Hochstadt, where the French commander, Tallard, was taken; and where he, the Duke, and Prince Eugene, are all represented. In the principal drawing-room, hangs a full-length portrait of the late Princess Charlotte, by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

One anecdote connected with the edifice is, that, when first erected, it so overshadowed St. James's Palace, which it adjoins, as to excite the jealousy of Queen Anne. Others are told, pointing to the supposed avarice of the Duke whilst it was building, which need not be repeated; the less, as in a conversation I had the honor to hold with the Princess Sophia of

Gloucester, she spoke of Coxe's *Life of Marlborough* lately published, where the Duke's private correspondence, given with all apparent fidelity, does not seem to show any traces of the disposition to avarice so long and generally imputed to him. Her Royal Highness spoke of Evelyn's *Memoirs*, a recent attractive publication which she had also been reading, and which she commended highly.

July 24. Yesterday Mr. Bourke, the Danish Minister, and Mrs. Bourke; Count Ludolf, Neapolitan Minister, and Countess Ludolf; Baron Langsdorff, Minister from Baden and Hesse; Baron Bulow, Prussian Chargé d'Affaires; General Cadwalader; Mr. David Parish; and Dr. Bollman; the three last of the United States, dine with us. Count Ludolf tells me that Sir Henry Wellesley, British Ambassador at Madrid, writes word to his Government that the Florida Treaty will be ratified. He also mentions a report that the Chevalier de Onis has been forbidden to enter Madrid; and informs me that affairs between Spain and Portugal remain unsettled, the former still refusing an adjustment upon the basis proposed by the Allied Powers at Aix-la-Chapelle.

July 25. Write the following letter to Mr.

Gallatin, which belongs to the topics of that of the 30th of June.

London, July 25, 1819.

DEAR SIR :

Your letter of the 9th instant was delivered to me by Mr. Gibbs, and I am under obligations to you for the views which it presents of our affairs. It was a relief to me in the present state of them, to be favored with your opinions.

I have to thank you also for the copy of Mr. Forsyth's letter,\* which you were so good as to enclose. I pray you to excuse my now troubling you with one for him, which I venture to do from supposing that you may be able to command better means of forwarding it to Madrid than I possess.

Although your letter seems to take for granted that \* \* \* \* \* is here, I have not yet been able to ascertain the fact. The newspaper notice of his arrival, I have reason to know, rested on conjecture only. Nevertheless, he may be here; and, if it be a part of his purpose to keep out of view, I need not say to you how many chances of success London will afford him.

But, perhaps, it will be deemed more im-

\* Mr. Forsyth succeeded Mr. Erving, as United States Minister to Spain.



portant when I inform you, that I have had two interesting conversations with Lord Castlereagh himself, on the subject of our treaty with Spain ; and I am happy to add, that he assures me this Government has taken no steps whatever to prevent its ratification, and does not mean to give us any trouble on this head. Such assurances have not been limited to me alone. I have reason to believe that he has uttered similar sentiments in some of the circles of the diplomatic corps. The enclosed letter to Mr. Forsyth conveys to him, the information of these assurances.

I have waited for a private opportunity to send this letter, and will be sure to afford you any further information I may acquire, which I think may be acceptable to you.

I am, dear Sir, in great respect and friendship, your obedient servant,

RICHARD RUSH.

To Albert Gallatin, Esquire, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States. Paris.

July 28. I give place to a letter below, addressed to Colonel Trumbull, President of the Academy of Fine Arts in New York, relating to a full length portrait of Mr. West, President of the Royal Academy in London, by Sir Thomas Lawrence ; towards the painting of

which the New York Academy had asked my superintendence. This I was happy to give, glad that so rising an institution in our country dedicated to the Fine Arts, should have been ambitious of obtaining the likeness of Mr. West, whom America claims as a native son. The letter may serve in some degree to show the nature and extent of the employments of the first portrait painter in England at that day.

London, July 28, 1819.

DEAR SIR :

It is with great concern I have to state, that the portrait of Mr. West still remains unfinished. Sir Thomas Lawrence left London for Aix-la-Chapelle, shortly after my communication to you in August last, with a view, I believe, to take the likeness of some of the Sovereigns of Europe, expected to assemble there. He proceeded thence to other parts of the Continent, and to this day has not got back to England. It is painful to me to inform you, that Mr. West again lies ill, and that there are but feeble hopes of his permanent recovery. I understand that Sir Thomas says, that the picture is sufficiently advanced in its essential points to be completed with every advantage, in the event of Mr. West's death ; but on this subject I cannot at present speak with con-

fidence, and as little can I make inquiry of the venerable President himself. I cannot affirm, with accuracy, how many pictures were left by Sir Thomas in an unfinished state when he went away; but in such universal demand is his pencil in the leading classes throughout England, that I remember it was a current saying that he had begun more than a life of a hundred years would enable him to complete. These seem peculiarly strong reasons why the Academy at New York ought not to be among the disappointed, and I will cherish the hope that this is not to be the case.

As soon after Sir Thomas's return as I may find it practicable to obtain an interview with him, I will again write to you; and in the meantime, have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

RICHARD RUSH.

To J. Trumbull, Esquire, President of the  
Academy of Fine Arts, New York.

I add, that the picture was, in the end, finished, and safely received by the Academy in New York.

July 29. Dine with the Vice-Chancellor, Sir John Leech. His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, General Matthews, Sir Archibald Murray, the Marchioness of Down-

shire, Lady Clare, Mr. and Mrs. Stanhope, and others were of the company.

The Duke of Gloucester had been on a visit to Holkham since the sheep-shearing, and we spoke of it. He agreed to the description given of it by Sir Benjamin Hobhouse, namely, that "all Mr. Coke's farms seemed like horticulture upon a large scale;" and added that the Holkham estate could hardly be better described in a few words.

The Vice-Chancellor is among the many instances illustrating the democratical part of the British Constitution, as does the present Lord Chancellor; both these high functionaries, the latter uniting the highest honors of the state with those of the law, having risen to their posts without any aids from family, or fortune; relying upon nothing but their talents, industry, integrity, and unshaken perseverance.

July 30. Under this date, I write a dispatch to the Secretary of State, with some account of the measures of the Session of Parliament lately ended; limiting it to those which bear upon the interests of the United States, and to a few of those subjects of primary importance affecting the home interests of this Kingdom.

Under the former head I mention the act for carrying into more full effect the con-



vention which Mr. Gallatin and I negotiated with this Government last October, the eighth section of which provides that no higher duties are henceforth to be laid, under any pretext whatever, on American vessels entering British ports than are payable on British vessels; the act thus redeeming the promises made to me by Mr. Robinson under my remonstrances to the British Government on this subject.

1. I mention the resolution which passed each House of Parliament to present an address to the Prince Regent, requesting that his Majesty's Ministers would renew their efforts with foreign powers, and particularly with France and the United States, for rendering the laws passed against the slave-trade more effectual; stating that it was on the Marquis of Lansdowne's motion that the resolution passed the House of Lords in this form, and on the motion of Mr. Wilberforce that it passed the House of Commons.

As regards the principal home measures, I mention, first, THE LEVYING OF NEW TAXES. The whole expenses of the year up to April, being in round numbers, 67,000,000*l.* (including 15,000,000*l.* applied towards reducing the national debt,) and the income 54,000,000*l.* I state that a loan of 12,000,000*l.* was, in this condition of the finances, negotiated during

the year ; and new taxes imposed in the shape of excise on consumable articles, and new duties levied at the custom-house, in expectation that the whole would add 3,000,000*l.* to the revenue.

2. I speak of THE POOR LAWS, and sums raised under them, being an aggregate of about 8,000,000*l.* sterling for the year ; saying that it seems agreed on all hands to be the heaviest pecuniary burden, as a single one, which England has to bear ; and that how to get rid of, or mitigate it, seems to perplex her wisest men. And I state, that, in the midst of conflicting and anxious opinions, taken up, independent of party, the plan of Mr. Robert Owen has been deemed of sufficient interest, from its novelty, to become a subject of investigation and debate in the House of Commons. I briefly describe the plan as one for gathering together all the destitute of the manufacturing and laboring classes into regular villages or districts of country, in the proportion of one person to every acre of land, with some established police or authority for enforcing within these villages a proper routine of agricultural, horticultural, and manufacturing labor ; in which general plan the projector supposes a cure is to be found for the present evils of pauperism. I add in my dispatch, that whatever may be the benevolent intentions of Mr.

Owen, or the ingenuity of some of his suggestions, and however successful the plan may have been upon his own estate in Scotland, where it is stated to have succeeded, I find that those who have examined it with most care, and whose judgments are entitled to deference, are of opinion that it never can be extended to the nation at large.

3. I speak of **THE NAVY**; simply mentioning, on this occasion, in addition to accounts which I have transmitted to President Monroe and to different branches of our Government, of the improvements steadily going on in this grand arm of England's strength, that 6,400,000*l.* was the sum appropriated for its service this year; and that the number of vessels in actual commission was one hundred and thirty-seven, twenty-four being of the line, and forty-five frigates. **FOR THE ARMY**, I mention, that the appropriation for the year was 8,900,000*l.*; its whole force, at home and abroad, being computed at one hundred and four thousand men.

4. I speak of **THE CURRENCY**; and the shape which this subject has assumed under the full and able report which Mr. Peel, as head of a Committee in the House of Commons, made upon it. I state, that the paper system, which, amidst the shocks and trials of war during twenty years, had alternately upheld England



by its benefits and afflicted her with its evils, had been finally condemned by Parliament; and that, with a view to the resumption of cash payments, both Houses came to a resolution, that on the 1st of February, 1820, the Bank should be under an obligation to deliver gold in bars of not less than sixty ounces for a proportionate amount of its notes, at 4*l.* 1*s.* an ounce; that on the 1st of October of the same year, it must make similar payments at the rate of 3*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* an ounce; and on the 1st of May, 1821, make them at the mint price of 3*l.* 17*l.* 10*d.* an ounce; the last part of the system to continue in operation not less than two, nor more than three years, when the Bank, in place of bullion or bars for its paper, is to pay specie. I mention that various and very discordant opinions were expressed in the progress of the discussion, as to the quantity of gold which the country would require to sustain the resumption of cash payments, some estimating it as high as forty-five millions, and some as low as twenty millions; and lastly, I mention, that the resolution for resumption was carried through both Houses of Parliament, almost unanimously, in the face of opposition from the Bank of England, and the great body of London merchants and bankers.

5. I allude to the CRIMINAL LAW; saying,



that its sanguinary character scarcely found an apologist in all the discussions respecting it ; and I speak of the enlightened labors of Sir James Macintosh to lessen its severity, stating, that the report which he made upon the subject, concludes with recommending the abolition of a list of capital felonies amounting in number to between thirty and forty ; which report was not, however, acted upon.

6. I mention that THE CATHOLICS preferred their annual claims to be relieved from the disabilities under which they have so long labored, and that the discussions had been conducted with their usual scope and animation ; that in the House of Lords, their cause was lost by a majority of 41 ; but that in the House of Commons it came extremely near to success, the majority being but *two* against it. I add, that this near approach to success in the popular branch of the Legislature, had filled this class of British subjects with new hope, and might be expected to impart to their future efforts new activity. In regard to the number of Catholics, I mention, that, in England alone, whilst they were computed to have amounted to not more than seventy thousand when the present King ascended the throne, they were now supposed to be half a million in number ; and that at Stoneyhurst,

in Lancashire, where a college of Jesuits was established, the pupils, including those at a preparatory school adjoining, amounted to five hundred.

7. I notice THE CORN-LAWS; this subject of parliamentary inquiry and debate, grown stale by frequency, yet ever fresh in existing interest; an interest which extends beyond England, to countries having commercial intercourse with her. I mention that these laws were left, for the present Session, upon the old footing of allowing importations of wheat from foreign countries as long as the price of native wheat in England was above 80s. the quarter. Under this regulation, the ports of England having remained open to bread stuffs from abroad during 1818; I also mention that by official returns to the House of Commons, it was found that the total value of all the wheat and other grain, including flour, imported into the kingdom during that year from the colonial possessions of Great Britain and from foreign countries, rose as high as 13,000,000*l.* sterling; a sum which appeared to have struck everybody by its large amount. I added, that I had no means of ascertaining accurately what portion of this foreign wheat and flour came from the United States; but that conjectures from persons having a connexion with this

branch of the American trade, put it under than above, five hundred thousand barrels.

8. EDUCATION. I notice the Report to the House of Commons, by which it appeared how this great work is advancing in England; for that, whilst in 1812 the number of schools under the national-school system was only fifty-two, and the pupils eight thousand, this report shows that the former had risen, in 1818, to above fourteen hundred, and the number of pupils to two hundred thousand.

9. THE DUKE OF YORK. I mention the parliamentary grant of 10,000*l.* sterling a year to the Duke of York, as *Custos* of the person of the King, under his continued state of mental incapacity; and I speak of the opposition which it encountered, it being asked why should a son, already receiving an income of more than 30,000*l.* from the nation, be thus additionally paid from its purse, for performing a natural duty to a parent? and the measure having been otherwise strongly denounced.

10. LORD CAMDEN. Acts of individual virtue and disinterestedness, being no less worthy to be told than those of an opposite complexion, I mention, that the Marquis Camden, (a title dear to America,) weighing the distresses of portions of his countrymen, came forward with a truly noble contribution to



their relief. I state that he did this, by the voluntary surrender to the public of a salary of 9,000*l.* sterling a year, to which he was entitled by legal and hereditary claim as one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, and of which he had long been in the enjoyment. I add, that the House of Commons marked this example of generosity in an individual in full life, and moving in its highest and most expensive walks, by a vote of approbation which places it for ever upon their journals. Mr. Tierney pronounced it "a magnificent donation to the country," and paid other tributes to the noble donor.

The foregoing is a summary of the dispatch ; and after presenting under each general head the statements and remarks belonging to it, I briefly subjoined other matter of a public nature, of which the following is an outline.

I mentioned that the Parliament being a new one, to ascertain the relative strength of parties in the House of Commons seemed desirable to both sides ; to which end, a trial was made on the motion of Mr. Tierney, (the recognized leader of the Whigs,) on the state of the nation ; that this led to a debate of the usual scope under such a motion, the avowed object being to obtain a vote of condemnation on the whole course of policy pursued by Mi-



nisters, whether regarding home affairs or the foreign relations; and that on an unusually full attendance of the members, the Ministers triumphed, the vote in their favor being 357, and against them but 178.

Regarding the affairs of Europe generally, as existing in connexion with those of Britain, or bearing at all upon American interests, I stated, that the debate, although taking wide scope, brought little to light that was important, or that I had not already noticed in former communications to the department; but I gave a passage from Mr. Tierney's description of the Holy Alliance. This animated speaker said, that "at first it consisted of but *four* powers; that these four had considered it their duty to impose upon France the yoke of maintaining foreign armies upon her territory, to preserve order within it, and keep the reigning family upon the throne; but that France having conducted herself to the satisfaction of her four masters, they had, at Aix-la-Chapelle last autumn, determined not only to remove the yoke but take her into partnership, and that she now constituted a fifth member of the firm."

Giving this extract from Mr. Tierney's speech assailing the Ministry, I deemed it right to hold up, on the other hand, (passing over

Lord Castlereagh's reply to the speech in the House of Commons,) the declarations made by Lord Liverpool, the Premier, in the House of Lords on the 21st of January, in reference to the Holy Alliance ; with which declarations my dispatch to the Secretary of State concluded. They were, that he, (Lord Liverpool,) "felt bound in conscience to affirm, that, so far as he knew, there never was a time in the history of the world when so general an anxiety prevailed to preserve peace ; when the causes of disturbance were so completely removed ; when nations and sovereigns were more divested of ambition and the love of undue influence, and when the spirit of conciliation and the necessity for repose, were more thoroughly acknowledged and acted upon over the whole European community."

Throughout my mission, I wrote the Secretary of State an annual dispatch after Parliament rose, on the model of the foregoing, more or less full according to circumstances ; in addition to noticing, from time to time, in weekly dispatches, such of the proceedings of either House, or speeches of individual or official members, as seemed appropriate to public obligations devolving upon me.

August 6. Go to Deptford, Greenwich and Blackheath ; my main object being to visit the

naval arsenal at Deptford in the vicinity ; as I did, fully.

August 9. Go to the counting-house of Barings, Brothers, and Company, Bishopsgate-street. I am shown their orderly arrangements for business, the daily routine of which is under the direction of Mr. Holland, an accomplished merchant, agreed by all to merit the confidence he enjoys from the great firm with which he is associated.

August 19. Go to St. Paul's, the present season allowing some few intervals for sight seeing. One of the Foreign Ministers told me soon after my arrival, that he had been eight years in London without seeing the inside of Westminster Abbey ; declaring that he had never been able to command the time for it, other engagements always stepping in with prior claims—if not of business, those of ceremony, which he was not at liberty to forego.

August 20. Devote the day to visiting the London, West-India, and East-India Docks. J. Adams Smith was with me. Instead of going by land, we took a boat near Westminster Bridge, for the sake of going down the Thames. We passed under the other bridges that cross the route, viz., Waterloo, Blackfriars, and Southwark Bridges, got out at London Bridge, which you cannot safely shoot with a



flowing tide, and took a fresh boat on the other side. This brought under our view all the shipping, boats, and craft of every description, moving about the river, or stationary on its surface, and the whole river population and scene. It was an immense panorama. We had the Tower before us—that remnant of a feudal age, going back a thousand years, but now shorn of importance amidst the vast appearances of a commercial age. Below London Bridge, there was, for miles, a black forest of masts and spars. Most of the ships are at anchor, in solid tiers, in the stream, with lighters at hand to put in and take out cargoes; and thousands seemed to be at that work. What struck me most was the coal ships. There was no counting them. In some parts they seemed to choke up the river, and, although coasters, were stout, heavy, black looking vessels, square rigged. These vessels of themselves bespoke the preponderance of the home trade of London over the foreign trade, great as were signs of the latter. Ships loaded with timber, seemed to come next in number. There was a Thames Police ship for the river Magistrates; and the hulk of another ship, fitted up as a church for seamen. We passed docks for building, and dry docks for repairing merchant vessels. One of the latter



was of odd construction. It was the hulk of an old Dutch ship of the line, half sunk near the shore on the Surrey side, and in that way converted into a dry dock, in which a vessel was undergoing repairs. Sometimes you passed the decayed remains of old men-of-war, which seemed to tell you of battles and storms, in other ages. Some were in decay, though not old. This was the case with a large frigate built of fir, in 1813, to match, so it was said, the American frigates. Getting lower down the stream, straggling ships of war were seen lying in ordinary; one had a plank stripped off from stem to stern near the water's edge to let in air to prevent rot. But I never should finish if I glanced at only a tithe of the multitude of things to strike the eye of a stranger. The scene occupied me more than the Docks, which I had set out expressly to visit. The Docks indeed, with all they contain, present imposing images of commercial power; but to pass in review that portion of London, on the north bank of the Thames, from Westminster Bridge to the Docks, with its piles of buildings, its spires, its domes, its monuments, its manufacturing establishments, and other works and edifices; taking in also the solid bridges, packed with human crowds incessantly moving, with the immensity of

shipping after you reach London Bridge, and all else arresting attention on the river and on both shores,—is to behold tokens of every other kind of power. You behold industry and art under a thousand forms; you behold the accumulated capital of ages, all in activity; all teeming with present results. You behold, in every direction, signs of national energy, enterprise, and opulence; much of it as if just bursting out. Such, to me, was the real scene of yesterday, keeping this side of all exaggeration. It was said by one of the Popes, a century ago, that if the treasury of Augustus had been put up to sale, London could have bought it—a strong figure of speech; but what are not its riches now, increasing as they have been ever since under new sources of trade and industry; and more of late years than ever? New buildings, new bridges, and other new improvements in all ways, attest the extent of its modern, and daily increasing prosperity and wealth.

I need not go into detail about the Docks. Like the river, they were filled with vessels, except the East India Docks. These had comparatively few; but they were large, and, at a distance, looked like frigates. The London Docks can receive, it is said, five hundred merchantmen; and as many, if not a greater

number, are accommodated in the export and import West India Docks.

I close this brief notice of the scene on the Thames by mentioning, that a London merchant likely to be well informed, with whom I was afterwards talking about it, said, that upwards of 8,000,000*l.* sterling had been expended since 1800, on docks, bridges, custom-house buildings, walls, and other establishments connected with the port and commerce of this great city.

It may be added, that since the epoch to which the foregoing notice refers, St. Katharine's Docks, the largest of all the commercial docks, have been built, at an expense of 2,000,000*l.* sterling; and that the Thames Tunnel has also been constructed, which, in some respects, may be considered as the greatest of all the public works connected with the river. It was the man whom Sir James Macintosh in the House of Commons pronounced "the soldier, the sailor, the historian, the poet, and the statesman," it was that man, Sir Walter Raleigh, who said, that "whosoever commands the sea, commands the trade of the world; whosoever commands the trade of the world, commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself." England does



not forget this; and whoever will descend the Thames even from London Bridge to the Docks, and keep looking all around, and when at the latter, see also the immense warehousing system in full and successful operation, with the many other facilities and sources of a vast commerce, from this great metropolitan city of England without considering her other ports—may mark how steadily she moves forward on the road which Sir Walter Raleigh so epigrammatically pointed out two centuries ago. And it is remarkable, that her advance in commercial power goes on at an even pace with predictions from the writers of other countries and her own, that her ruin or decay is fast approaching. The predictions began, at least, as long ago as Queen Anne's time, with her own Davenant.



## CHAPTER XI.

ENTERTAINMENT AT THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR'S. — THE FLORIDA TREATY. — BREWERY OF TRUMAN, HANBURY, AND COMPANY. — DINNER AT LORD CASTLEREAGH'S, NORTH CRAY.—AMERICAN FLYING SQUIRRELS AND HUMMING BIRDS.—ANECDOTE OF THE PERSIAN AMBASSADOR. INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH ON THE WEST INDIA TRADE AND OTHER SUBJECTS. — MR. STRATFORD CANNING APPOINTED MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES. —DINNER AT MR. LYTTTELTON'S.

August 26. LAST evening, the French Ambassador celebrated the birth-day of his Sovereign by an entertainment. The Duke and Duchess of Kent, Lord Castlereagh, and other Cabinet Ministers, the Diplomatic Corps, and other company, were present.

Again I had opportunities of informally conversing with Lord Castlereagh.

Salutations over, I began conversation with him by alluding to the strong rumors I had heard in the diplomatic circle, of Mr. Bagot being about to succeed Lord Cathcart as Ambassador at St. Petersburg. I then asked, if he would put it in my power to announce to my

Government who was likely to take Mr. Bagot's place at Washington?

His Lordship replied, that Mr. Bagot's appointment to Russia, although not yet publicly made known, was, he believed, a measure determined upon by the Prince Regent. He had the more pleasure in saying so to me, because he felt that it would be taken as a new proof of the importance attached to the American Mission, when faithful services in it became the passport to an Ambassador's post at so leading a Court in Europe; that as to Mr. Bagot's successor in the British Mission at Washington, one had not yet been named; they felt an anxious desire that the choice should fall upon a person endowed with every suitable qualification, and as soon as it was made he would inform me of it.

This topic ended, "No ratification of our treaty yet, my Lord," was my next remark. "So it appears," was his reply; "but I hope you are well convinced, that the ratification does not linger through our means?"

I answered, "Certainly, after what your Lordship said to me at Carlton House and Prince Esterhazy's, I feel entirely convinced that it does not; and I have had great pleasure in communicating to the President what you said on both occasions."

“I will say more,” he continued. “As far as we have given expression to any opinion or wish to Spain, it has been the other way; *it has been that the treaty may be ratified.*”

“This then,” I rejoined, “is a communication which I shall make to my Government with increased satisfaction.”

“Let me deal candidly,” he proceeded. “It can little be supposed, were it an open question, that we would not prefer that Spain should own the Floridas to their falling into your hands. She is weak — you are strong; but the treaty has been made, and we prefer its ratification to the possibility of any serious disturbance to the pacific relations between the United States and Spain. These we are sincerely desirous to see maintained, from the propitious influence that it will continue to shed upon the general repose of the world.” I said that I was sure my Government would hear with great satisfaction the expression of such sentiments.

Pursuing the subject, he remarked, that whenever it appeared to this Government that the United States were really manifesting a spirit of encroachment at which other nations might justifiably take exception, it might perhaps feel itself called upon to utter other opinions; but he did not think the present



case open to such views. I again rejoined how happy I was to hear him express himself in this manner in relation to the Florida Treaty, and agreed that principles of moderation were those by which it would be best for all nations to steer.

The United States manifesting a spirit of encroachment! England to think this! England, whose empire encircles the globe! But it was not for me to reason with the sentiment as it then fell upon me from Lord Castlereagh. It was neither the occasion nor place. Had England intervened to frustrate or retard the ratification of our treaty, the United States would have had ground of complaint; but as she was doing the reverse, the moment would have been ill-chosen for commenting upon her own boundless dominion and power. We had no claim, of right, to the good offices, or even good wishes of England, towards hastening the ratification. Neutrality was all we had a right to ask. The voluntary interposition of her good wishes, whatever the motive, was to be well received; and I hold it to have been another instance of the wisdom of the Foreign Secretary who then so largely swayed her foreign counsels; nor did I suffer a day to pass without transmitting what he said on this occasion to the Secretary of State.



August 29. Mr. Lowndes and Washington Irving, two of our countrymen, dine with us; the former a prominent Member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina, the latter distinguished by his literary talents. The conversation was of the United States and England, Mr. Lowndes having lately arrived. From both, there was a flow of patriotism, mingled with liberal feelings towards England.

September 3rd. Mr. \* \* \* \* \* who is closely connected with some of the Cabinet, informs me that a British squadron, consisting of two seventy-fours, and two frigates, is in active preparation at Plymouth, whence it is expected to sail very shortly for the South Seas, and that Sir Thomas Hardy is to command it. He says, that it was destined for this service in consequence of the operations of Lord Cochrane's ships in those seas, and the decree of Bernardo O'Higgins, Supreme Director of Chili, of the 20th of April last, relating to blockade, which has laid the foundation for some of Lord Cochrane's proceedings. \* \* \* \* \* said, that the British squadron would be there to watch events, not intending to let Lord Cochrane have sole command in the Pacific.

September 5th. Mr. Irving dines with us, to our renewed pleasure. His social benevo-

lence is equal to his good humor. He speaks ill of no one, so that the poet's line,

“ The tongue which where it could not praise was mute,”

might describe him.

September 7th. Write to Mr. Forsyth, informing him that since my letter of the 24th of July, transmitted through Mr. Gallatin, I have assurances from Lord Castlereagh, that England not only takes no steps to defeat our treaty with Spain, but desires and seeks to promote its ratification. I especially give him the information, as, by a letter from him, he appears to labor under opposite suspicions very strongly, not having received my former letter.

September 9. Visit the brewery of Truman, Hanbury, and Co. Young Mr. Hanbury conducted us through it. I will note a few things.

I asked if they ever got hops from the United States. The answer was, only in years when the crop was short in England, the duty upon our hops being so high as to amount to prohibition. The price in England for their own hops was stated to be, 3*l.* per hundred weight: this was in good seasons; last year being a very bad one, the price rose greatly higher. This had brought American hops into demand, the quality of which was better

for brewing than the English; but it was said that they were injured for the English market by being dried, as was supposed, with pine wood, this being the only way in which a bad flavor imparted to them could be accounted for. We were told that there had been brewed at the brewery last year, two hundred and ten thousand barrels of beer, each containing thirty-six gallons. The whole was performed by a steam-engine, equal to a twenty-six-horse power. There were eighty vats, and three boilers.

We understood that the whole cost of the establishment, including the building, machinery, implements, horses, and verything else, together with the capital necessary to put the brewery into operation, was upwards of 400,000*l*. And was this investment necessary before *beginning* the business, I asked? The answer was — yes, on the scale that I saw.

The stable was scarcely the least curious part of the establishment. Ninety horses of the largest breed were employed, not as large as elephants, it is true, but making one think of them; and all as fat as possible. Their food was a peck and a half of oats a day, with mangers always kept full of clover, hay, and cut straw, chopped up together with a



machine, and hay in their racks throughout the night. It was among the largest breweries in London, but not the largest, Barclay's, established by an American, taking the lead.

After going through it all under the good auspices of Mr. Hanbury, who hospitably gave us a collation, we went to Spitalfields. There, through like obliging attentions from Mr. Hale, an eminent manufacturer, we saw, in several of the houses and workshops, the whole process of weaving silk, satin, and velvets.

September 12. Dined with Lord Castle-reagh yesterday at his country seat, North Cray, where he goes occasionally to pass a few days at this season of relative rest to Cabinet Ministers, being the beginning of the shooting season. It was a dinner given to a portion of the Diplomatic Corps and their ladies; we had also Mr. Planta, and Lord Ancram, and were invited at six o'clock. This was early for England, and may have been to afford opportunity for taking a turn before dinner along the sweet-briar walk, alluded to in Chapter XVIII., of the former volume; but if so, unhappily, we lost that chance! An accident to my carriage obliged us to stop on the road, and the consequence was, that, although the speed of the horses was increased



after repairing the accident, we arrived after our time. The fifteen minutes usually allowed at English dinners, had far more than run out. As we drove up, we saw that the servants had all left the hall, and we feared that the company had gone to dinner. Entering the drawing-room, we found this not quite the case, but they were on the eve of going, and we had been waited for. As I advanced to Lord Castlereagh, to make the explanation, he at once put all apology aside by saying playfully, "Never mind—it is all as it should be—America being farthest off, you had a right to more time in coming!" This relieved us; and our associates of the corps, who were standing by, in anxious silence at our dilemma, all witnessed the ingenious excuse which the good breeding of our host suggested for our very late arrival.

I remember nothing that better matches it than an anecdote I have heard of the Lord Leicester who built Holkham; one of whose dinner guests, on entering the room, unluckily struck a barometer hanging near the door. It fell down, breaking the glass, and scattering the mercury all over the floor; on which his Lordship congratulated his company on the certainty of a change of weather, then much wanted, remarking that he had never seen

*the mercury in his barometer so low.* Happy thought ! but did not Lord Castlereagh, in his reception of me meet the occasion as well ?

We went to dinner a minute or two after our arrival, one of the Ambassadors, Baron Fagel, taking Lady Castlereagh on his arm, and my wife going in with Lord Castlereagh. Two pet dogs had the run of the rooms, *Venom* and *Fury*—in name only, not conduct.

If I came too late to go to the menagerie before dinner, its inmates were not forgotten at table. Lady Castlereagh said that she had now two of my countrymen in the collection, a mocking-bird and a flying squirrel ; but the bird, vexed perhaps at being stolen from its native woods, would neither mock anything, nor sing a note of its own ; and as to the squirrel, none of her efforts had been able to make it fly ; still there was one other thing she wanted from the United States,—a humming-bird, having never seen one. I said it would make me most happy to procure one for her, if possible. “ Thank you,” she said, “ but will it *hum* in England ?” I said I would disown it as a countryman if it did not. Hereupon I was questioned as to the habits of this little frequenter of our arbors and porticos, where honeysuckles hang, but had to confess my shallow knowledge on this item of natural

history ; on which her Ladyship hinted that I was holding back, for the honor of the humming-bird, not wishing to promise too much beforehand, lest it should refuse to *hum* when it got to North Cray !

Lord Castlereagh seemed quite disposed to indulge in a similar vein ; as if invited to it by the rural and quiet scenes around him,—in such contrast to his daily battles in the House of Commons. He told anecdotes of the last Westminster election, and confirmed what is said in Chapter XVI. of the former volume, of his escape from the mob, with additional and diverting particulars, narrated with a familiarity that could mingle with his bland dignity when among the Foreign Ministers, without overstepping it. We had personal anecdotes from him also of the Sovereigns of Europe. One or two had reference to the Emperor of Austria's fondness for hunting wild boars, and his success in that sport. His guests fell in with his own vein, and none seconded it better than Mr. Planta ; a gentleman of native urbanity, and long enjoying all advantages of society.

We had one anecdote relished above all the rest. I need have the less scruple in telling it, as it may be inferred that the distinguished personage to whom it relates, would himself



have had no objection to its publicity. It was mentioned, that two of the servants of the Persian Ambassador having offended him lately in London, he applied to the British Government for permission to cut off their heads. On learning that it could not be granted, he gravely remonstrated! In the sequel, he was ill able to comprehend how the laws of England could deny his request. Finding, however, that his hands were tied up, he told his servants, "*it was all one; they must consider their heads as being off, for off they would come when he got them back to Persia!*"

It was so the dinner moved along. I give little specimens only, ill-told, apart from their oral spirit. We left the table at nine o'clock, and were an hour in the drawing-room afterwards. Here Mr. Planta mentioned to a little knot of us, that Lord Castlereagh had once crossed with Lady Castlereagh from Ireland to Scotland in an open row-boat,—a distance of twenty-five miles. It was thought something of an adventure.

With the cup of delicious Mocha coffee in our hands, I had conversation with the Saxon Minister, Baron Just; and I must here mention, having omitted a note of it under its date, that this experienced member of the corps paid me a visit in the spring or summer, to talk



about our intended recognition of Buenos Ayres. He said that he would not conceal his wish on that subject, having received a dispatch from his Court, in which it was stated that I had made some communication to Lord Castlereagh in relation to it in the winter. The precise nature of my communication his Court did not know; and it was thence his desire to learn it through me, as he had no claim to seek it through Lord Castlereagh. I frankly told him all; and it struck me as curious, that an official communication which I had made to the Foreign Secretary of England respecting a measure of foreign policy contemplated by the United States, should have passed from Cabinet to Cabinet in Europe, or from one Ambassador to another, until, somehow or other, for it was not said exactly how, it reached the ears of the King of Saxony, whose Plenipotentiary in London thus hears it for the first time by way of Dresden! Had the movements of the United States become so important with Europe? or were its smaller Courts, like Saxony, the more prone to political curiosity, from being able to do nothing important themselves, since the Holy Alliance existed? (When could the smaller Courts *ever* do anything important?) Be these things as they may, the veteran diplomat thanked me

again this evening for having put it in his power to enlighten his Court on this intended step of the Government of the United States, respecting Buenos Ayres.

In a few brief words with Lord Castlereagh, I touched upon the non-ratification of our Florida Treaty. He again merely said, his other guests dividing his attention, that he wished it had been otherwise, adding, that he was led to infer, from the communications of Sir Henry Wellesley, their Ambassador at Madrid, that the refusal of Spain was not absolute, but that she only waited for some further explanations.

Before coming away, I asked it as a favor that he would name as early a day as his convenience would allow for letting me know the views of his Government on the renewed proposals that I submitted in June, on the West India trade; on which he appointed the 16th instant, requesting I would call on him at his residence, St. James's Square.

It was now ten o'clock. Our carriages were all in waiting, the night was fine, the road good, and we got back to town at midnight from this agreeable dinner-party; a delightful form of society of which the English are chiefly fond, and all the unwritten arcana of which they understand; a form of society

where restraint and ease go hand in hand, to unite the pleasures of conversation in its lighter spheres with the rational enjoyments of the table, heightening and refining both; and where, as the condition of the conversation being general, there must be a disciplined forbearance under the golden requisition of which none talk too much. This, indeed, points to a high state of manners; and what training to produce it! How often have the young and unpractised held back, where all are listening while only one speaks, lest they should fail in the apt thought and proper expression of it! These are sensibilities, this the kind of culture, out of which such society grows, until at last, as the effect of both, it becomes an unconstrained and natural scene, where there is no jarring, blended with one of intellectual accomplishments and grace; a scene, not for conflict of minds, not for bending the bow of Ulysses, but for easy colloquy and reciprocal pleasure; where the strife is that of concession, if there be any strife; where some minds, to be sure, will be superior to others; some able to sparkle and others not; but none struggling for mastery, or breathing a contentious spirit; where wit itself must be as the lightning of a summer's evening, diffusing gleams which never burn.



To reconcile with all these restraints mental enjoyments in a sphere peculiarly its own and eminently delightful, is the end aimed at, and are the general characteristics of dinner-parties in England in their enlightened and polished circles.

There is a charm in such society for all nations. Its standard is of intrinsic worth and beauty. It is of all times and countries advanced into high civilization. The educated and accomplished everywhere, appreciate its meliorating influences; rich and flourishing Republics have the elements of it; and it raises the moral tone of conduct in other spheres, by the restraints which it imposes upon the temper and the feelings, laying a curb upon both, on the important occasions of life, such as is seen in the intercourse of refined, social life.

September 16. The scene changes. It is no longer the tranquil hospitality of North Cray. Lord Castlereagh and his guest of last Thursday meet to day, by appointment, to discuss matters of international concern; in the spirit, indeed, in which his Lordship discusses and transacts all business—that of courtesy; but when, like his guest, he has important interests of his country in charge, which guest and host are primarily bound to look to, nei-



ther giving way to the other but as public duty may dictate.

His Lordship began the interview by taking from his table the proposals I submitted to him respecting the West India trade on the 13th of June. He premised, that it would be more convenient, perhaps, to answer them as the British articles submitted through my predecessor in London, in 1817, had been answered; namely, without any formal written communication, but simply in conversation with me. I said that the form of the answer would, I was sure, make no difference with my Government; its communication, in any mode, would answer.

He proceeded to inform me, that our proposals were not of a nature to form the basis of an agreement between the two countries for the regulation of this trade; they would effect, if adopted, an entire subversion of the British Colonial system; from which system they were not prepared to depart. Their Colonies were, in many respects, burdensome, he said, and even liable to involve the parent state in wars. Garrisons and other establishments were constantly maintained in them, at heavy expense. In return, it was no more than just that they should be brought under regulations, the operation of which would help to meet in part

the expenses which they created. The great principle of these regulations was known to be, the reservation of an exclusive right in the governing power to the benefit of the trade of the Colonies—a principle relaxed, it was true, by the Free Port Acts; but it had never been the intention of his Majesty's Government to do anything more than make us the offer of a participation in those acts. Some modifications of them would have been acquiesced in, suggested by local causes, and an anxious desire that our two countries might come to an understanding on this part of their commercial intercourse; but our proposals went the length of breaking down the system entirely, and could not therefore be accepted. Such were his remarks.

I said, that to break down the system was no part of our aim. All we desired was, that the trade, as far as opened to us at all, should be open to the vessels of both nations upon terms that were equal. If the system fell under such an arrangement, it was as an incident, and only served to show how difficult it seemed to render its longer continuance consistent with a fair measure of commercial justice towards the United States.

His Lordship's rejection of our proposals was so broad and decided, that it appeared

at first almost superfluous to ask him to be more particular; yet, on my wish, he went on to assign reasons, remarking, that the discussion of the whole subject by the British Plenipotentiaries, and by Mr. Gallatin and myself on the side of our Government, a twelve-month ago, would render it unnecessary for him do so in much detail.

The first objection then to our proposals was, that we asked a specification of all the ports in the West Indies to which we desired the privilege of admission.

We had asked, secondly, that the trade between the United States and the British Colonies on the continent of North America, and with Bermuda, should be confined within the same limits as the trade between the United States and the British West Indies, carried on in the direct path.

And, in the third place, we had asked that the duties on articles imported from the United States into the British West India Islands in American vessels, should be no higher than on the same articles when imported from the United States in British vessels, or when imported from any *other* country, without saying any other *foreign* country.

These three points, especially the third and second, formed, he said, insurmountable ob-



stacles to any convention or arrangement with the United States, purporting to embrace them.

In reply, I remarked that, as to the first objection, it was plain that if the ports were not specifically named, the privilege of admission to them might at any time be recalled when Great Britain thought fit to exclude from them any other foreign vessels; it would be a privilege with nothing certain; vessels of the United States beginning a lawful voyage, might find it unlawful before it ended. As to the second objection, I said, that should an indirect trade be opened with the Islands in any greater extent than the direct trade, nothing appeared more obvious than that the greater part or whole would soon flow in the channel of the former, to the manifest disadvantage of American, and preference of British vessels.

The stress, I admitted, was on the third objection; and as to that, an explanatory remark or two was all that I would add to what we had urged heretofore. That the United States should ask, or expect, to cut Britain off from exercising her undoubted right of protecting the industry of her own subjects in any part of her dominions by establishing discriminating duties in their favor, might be thought, at first blush, altogether indefensible; but, on exami-



nation, we believed that it would be found otherwise under all the actual circumstances of this trade. The system built up by Great Britain in relation to her Colonies, must be viewed altogether. It was so artificial, that principles not disputed in the abstract, lost that character in their practical application to other nations. Though one and all of these Colonies were, indeed, of her own dominion, yet they were made, by British legislation, to stand, with respect to the United States, on the footing of separate and independent nations. Jamaica, for example, was as one country to them; Nova Scotia and New Brunswick as another; whilst the *whole* of the United States were made to present to Great Britain but *one* country, commercially; although the extremes of their widely extended territory comprised almost as great a variety of industry and productions as Great Britain proper and her West India Islands. This was the root of the difficulty. To the British West India Islands certain supplies were desirable, which, if they did not get from their own North American Colonies, they could get nowhere else upon terms to invite an advantageous trade, except from the United States. If, therefore, *we* agreed not to impose upon articles imported into the United States from

the British West Indies any higher duties than upon similar articles coming from any other *foreign* country, an agreement by *Great Britain*, not to impose on articles exported from the United States to her Islands any higher duties than on similar articles when brought from any other *foreign* country, would be one of only *nominal* reciprocity; because, after her own dominions on the continent of North America, there was no other *foreign* country, *except the United States*, from which such articles would be sent. Thus it was, that our third proposition, combined with the two others, was indispensable to enable the United States, whilst carrying on trade with the British West Indies, to place their navigation on a footing of real equality, not that which was merely verbal. The former was the only footing upon which any compact between the two countries could be satisfactory or lasting.

His Lordship did not accede to these views; and each Government appearing to have made up its mind on the subject, the discussion was not prolonged. He did not suffer it to close without adding, that although our proposals were declined, it was in a spirit no other than friendly and frank; we might resort to any just and rightful regulations of our own, to meet those which Britain deemed it necessary

to adhere to, in regard to her West India Islands; it would form no ground of complaint whatever on the part of his Majesty's Government. I also said, in conclusion, that this might naturally be expected to be the course which the United States would adopt, as had before been intimated to his Majesty's Government; and adopted, certainly, in no unfriendly spirit, but with a view to secure for their citizens what their Government believed to be equal rights in trade. The subject was now disposed of. It remained at rest until revived at a subsequent negotiation to be mentioned hereafter; each nation, in the meantime, pursuing its own independent policy.

His Lordship passed to another subject. He adverted spontaneously to the Florida Treaty. He did so, to corroborate his former communications to me. He took from his table some of Sir Henry Wellesley's dispatches from Madrid, and read passages from a couple of them, showing that that Ambassador had made known to the Spanish Cabinet the wishes of the British Government for the ratification of our treaty. He also read me a passage from one of his own dispatches to the Ambassador, in which an unequivocal opinion was expressed, that the true interests of Spain would be best promoted by a ratification.



He next asked me if I had heard, during the summer, of an intended visit of a Mr. \* \* \* \* \* to London. I replied, that I had. He said that he had too, but that he had not, in fact, arrived. The Spanish Government knew too well the opinion of his Majesty's Government, to imagine that the propositions with which \* \* \* \* \* was charged could ever be countenanced. These, he continued, were, to ask a loan of money from England to pay the American claims recognised by the Florida Treaty; and also to inquire, if Great Britain would consent to make common cause with Spain, in the event of a rupture between the latter and the United States.\* His Lordship then stated, that the willingness of the British Court to acquiesce in our possession of the Floridas might be inferred from the indirect offer which it had made two years ago to mediate between the United States and Spain, which we had declined. This offer, he remarked, was made on the supposition that the cession of these provinces to us would have formed the basis of the negotiation; and to such a basis Britain was pre-

\* This sheds some light on the anonymous communications mentioned in chapter xv., of the former volume. I naturally supposed that Britain would countenance no such propositions, though not then knowing what Lord Castlereagh told me in this interview.



pared at that time to consent, whatever her opinions formerly.

His Lordship also put into my hands at this interview, something not to have been read without the interest attaching in diplomatic life to what proceeds from high sources. It was a letter addressed to him by Sir Charles Stuart, the British Ambassador in Paris, relating an anecdote in which the Duchess d'Angoulême and Mr. Gallatin were the parties. It stated, that at a Court just held by the King of France, the Duchess pointedly asked Mr. Gallatin, in the hearing of others of the Diplomatic Corps, if British interference had not been at the bottom of the rejection of our treaty with Spain! Mr. Gallatin replied no; that so far from it, Great Britain had endeavoured to promote an issue directly the contrary. Sir Charles adds, that he thanked Mr. Gallatin for the justice rendered his Court, but hinted a wish that the contradiction might not be urged further. The meaning of this caution I inferred to be, that as the Duchess ought not to have harbored the suspicion which her question implied without adequate grounds, the question publicly proceeding as it did from a source in such close connexion with the French throne, had little claim to more than one contradiction.

In the course of the interview, his Lordship glanced at the pretexts under which Spain withheld her consent to the treaty, as he had learned them through Sir Henry Wellesley. These, in a word, were, though his Lordship did not go into them, an allegation by Spain that the United States desired to alter one of the articles of the treaty, by making certain declarations as to its meaning when the ratifications were to be exchanged; and next, that the Government of the United States had sanctioned an expedition against the Spanish province of Texas; both which allegations were shown in the end to be groundless.

September 18. Had another interview with Lord Castlereagh, on his invitation sent to me this morning. It was for the purpose of informing me, that the choice of the Prince Regent had fallen upon Mr. Stratford Canning, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from England to the United States, in the room of Mr. Bagot, who was appointed Ambassador to the Court of St. Petersburg.

In selecting this gentleman, his Lordship said that the Prince Regent had been actuated by an anxious desire to keep up the system of conciliation which had been acted upon with so much advantage to both countries by Mr. Bagot; and his Royal Highness had the best

reasons for believing that he possessed every qualification for treading in the same path.

In speaking more particularly of Mr. Canning, he carried back his narrative to 1812. That year found him, he said, in the post of Secretary to the British Embassy at Constantinople. The Ambassador being called away, Mr. Canning, under dormant credentials, which, according to usage in the diplomatic service of England, he was possessed of, stood at the head of the Embassy, with the rank and functions of Minister Plenipotentiary. In this situation, important duties fell upon him, which he performed in a manner highly satisfactory; but he attracted the favorable notice of his Government chiefly by services which he rendered as auxiliary to the conclusion of a treaty between the Ottoman Porte and Russia; accomplishing an object dear at that time to Great Britain.\* He was soon afterwards appointed Minister to Switzerland. This, although not generally a leading station, was converted by events into a conspicuous theatre for the display of his fitness for a high diplomatic trust. Being there when the Sovereigns of Europe

\* Russia and Turkey being at war, this treaty effected peace between them, thus liberating Russian troops from that service to go against Napoleon; as the treaty between Persia and Russia already mentioned had disengaged them from service against Persia.



were assembled at Vienna in 1815, and questions of interest as well between the States of Switzerland themselves as between some of them and France, coming up for consideration, Mr. Canning was requested to give his attendance at the Congress. Thither he repaired, and from the usefulness of his information and discretion of his counsels, left upon all minds the best impressions. Returning to his station, he remained until a few months ago, faithfully and ably discharging his duties; when, as was believed for some domestic reasons, he requested his recall.

Such was the account his Lordship gave me. He added, that his appointment to the United States was to be considered as the proper reward of past services. He mentioned that he would be made a Privy Councillor, the Prince Regent intending to annex that dignity to his Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States. He further spoke of Mr. Canning as joining to his abilities, personal dispositions kind and conciliatory.

I thanked him for his communication, telling him of the pleasure I should have in imparting it to my Government.

In the evening I dined with Mr. Lyttelton at Putney. We had a small but agreeable party. It could not have been otherwise in a circle



where Lady Sarah Lyttelton lent her aid to the cordial hospitality of Mr. Lyttelton. Captain Spencer, of the Navy, was of the company. He expected soon to sail in his frigate, the *Owen Glendower*, for the Pacific, as part of Sir Thomas Hardy's squadron. This frigate was built with the round stern, the first of that description, according to the plan of Sir Robert Seppings, which the Admiralty had adopted. The "round stern" was talked of, and conversation enlivened and diversified by many topics.

Mr. Lyttelton afterwards became Lord Lyttelton, heir of Hagley, and Lady Lyttelton, mistress of that elegant abode. There, at that classic seat, it was once my lot to pass a Christmas-week, with a youthful son; the mansion enlivened by other company, and everything to render hospitality attractive. Lord Lyttelton died soon afterwards, to the unfeigned regret of his American guest and friend, who would here pay a fleeting but sincere tribute to his virtues. After the death of Lord Lyttelton, the accomplished mind of Lady Lyttelton, pure principles, and mingled sprightliness and dignity, pointed her out, among the illustrious matrons of England, for the high trust of governess to the children of the present Queen; a situation which she now holds in the Palace.

September 29. Mr. Stratford Canning, the newly-appointed Minister to the United States, and several of the Diplomatic Corps, dine with us; also Mr. Planta. Mr. Canning manifests in conversation every desire to render the mission in his hands subservient to harmony and good will between the two countries.

October 2. Mr. \* \* \* \* \* visits me. He says that the Spanish Ambassador is very uneasy under the armament fitting out in Ireland in aid of the revolted Colonies. He remonstrates, but ineffectually, against it. He adds that the subject makes a talk in the Diplomatic Circle.

Getting on other topics, he was led to speak of allowances to some of the Ambassadors. The Austrian Ambassador, he said, received ten thousand ducats a year. The Russian, got more; but the Austrian, besides the above sum from his Government, had the same amount annually allowed him by his father, the elder Prince Esterhazy. The French Ambassador, he believed, received twelve thousand sterling a year, with an allowance for occasional entertainments. The Foreign Secretary of England, he added, was also allowed for entertainments. He further stated, that France gave her Ambassador *in London*, 2000*l.* a year *more* than her Am-

bassadors at any other Court. Speaking of British Ambassadors abroad, he said, that a service of plate as a personal gift to them had lately been discontinued. The plate was now considered as attached to the embassy, and had the public arms engraved upon it. To her Ministers Plenipotentiary England gave no service of plate, but made some extra allowance in lieu. This was the information he gave on these matters, saying that by as much as he had heard, he believed it not far from the truth.

## CHAPTER XII.

DINNER AT THE TRAVELLERS' CLUB.—ARMAMENTS IN AID OF THE SPANISH AMERICAN CAUSE.—DINNER AT BARON FAGEL'S, AMBASSADOR OF THE NETHERLANDS.—PRIZES TAKEN BY THE SPANISH AMERICANS NOT ADMITTED INTO ENGLISH PORTS.—INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH ON THE QUESTION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE. — OFFICIAL NOTES AND PARLIAMENTARY ADDRESSES ON THAT SUBJECT.

OCTOBER 4. Dine at the 'Travellers' Club. A party of about ten are at table, made up of English gentlemen and the Diplomatic Corps. This Club consists, I was told, of four hundred members, noblemen and gentlemen. One of the requisites to membership is, that the applicant should have travelled at least five hundred miles out of England. The club-house is a large one in Waterloo Place, not far from Carlton House. Besides the library of the Club, the rooms are supplied with the newspapers, periodical works, chess-boards, a billiard-table, and all things else necessary to such establishments as they exist in London. The rent of the house, without furniture, was



stated to be a thousand guineas a year. Looking at the regulations, I observed that one of them prohibited dice, and allowed no game of hazard in the rooms of the Club.

At seven we sat down to a dinner served on silver, and attended by liveried servants. Every body seemed at home. Mr. Planta was of the party, and a good contributor to the conversation.\* Talking with Mr. \* \* \* \* \* on that rule of the Club by which one black ball excludes, he agreed to what I had heard remarked at Lord Westmoreland's, namely, that to have had *two* duels would be likely to exclude any candidate for membership, without further scrutiny. He admitted duelling to be unavoidable in the existing state of manners; but said that experience proved it to be very rare in private society among the best gentlemen in England, who always understood each other. All the members of the Diplomatic Corps had the freedom of this Club extended to them; and this was far from being the only time I dined there in the midst of enlightened and agreeable circles.

October 5. I learn from good authority that, in addition to an armament already dispatched from Ireland to aid the Spanish Colonists, from

\* There was no *swearing*, any more than at private tables in England, a thing I have never heard.

two to three thousand men will soon follow, their first destination to be Margaritta. They will be under the command of General Devereaux, a native of Ireland, but long a citizen of the United States resident in Baltimore, an honorable man and a good soldier. He intends to embark in person with this force. The law is evaded by the men going out under color of settling as farmers and laborers in the province of Venezuela. The better to mask this project, it is said that General Devereaux has received either an actual or ostensible grant from General Boliver of fifty square leagues of land in that province.

It has been remarked quaintly, as illustrating the difficulty of framing penal statutes which could not be evaded in England, that the only statute out of which the subject could not creep, was the old one for burying in woollen. It is a hard task to execute laws where public opinion is against them. In Ireland, it is known that attachment to the cause of the Colonists has become very general. In England, it is strong in powerful commercial circles, and even in some others. But whence are derived the pecuniary supplies necessary for so large an expedition as the one now fitting out in Ireland, seems not easy to discover. It is said that General Devereaux does it on

his own means ; but troops are raised and equipped, transports hired, munitions provided, and a large enterprise in all things completed for active military operations. All this would appear to be an undertaking too much for private means. The General has his headquarters at a hotel in Dublin, wears a military dress, and has aids about him. It seems difficult to reconcile all this with the strict enforcement of the Foreign Enlistment Bill, passed to stop aid from going to the Spanish Colonists ; but facts must speak for themselves, and my informant can scarcely be in error, having *seen* part of what he mentions, and being too honorable to misstate things. I communicate to my Government all that he tells me.

October 6. Dine with Baron Fagel, Ambassador from the Netherlands. The company was composed of foreigners chiefly, with some English gentlemen. Amongst the former was a youth of about fifteen, a native of Java, dressed in the fashion of his country, who had lately come to London with a public functionary of Holland, arrived from that island. His behaviour was remarkable. At table, he retained his self-possession with entire modesty ; and what was more striking, seemed at fault in none of the conventional forms of the din-



ner. This was observed by all. So it is, that native aptitudes will sometimes greatly supply the want of previous training, even for the nicest occasions of social life; like those intellects which, in regions of thought more important, can go on from conclusion to conclusion, without the intermediate processes necessary to others.

Mr. Barrow, of the Admiralty, was of the company, and talked with his usual command of resources for conversation. Ship-building being spoken of, one of his remarks was, that as a science it was still in its infancy; hitherto, in England, it had been in the hands, almost exclusively, he added, of practical men merely. Mr. Hammond, British Minister to the United States in General Washington's time, was among the guests. I found him still familiar with some of the incidents of our Government at that early day, when the French Revolution raged, and party spirit among us rested chiefly on an espousal of the cause of one or other of the great belligerents, France or England.

October 8. I am informed that Mr. Irisari, a Deputy from Chili, has had an informal interview with Lord Castlereagh. He asked whether the vessels of Chili would not be admitted into the ports of Britain? His Lord-



ship replied, certainly—at all times. Would their prizes also? Here Lord Castlereagh made objection, saying that such a permission might give cause of complaint to Spain. His Lordship then said, that Sir Thomas Hardy, who was appointed to command the squadron destined to act in the South Seas, was charged to attend to British interests in that quarter, and would be the medium of any communications necessary between his own Government and the authorities of Chili, and thus exercise, in effect, Consular functions. The Deputy inquired if Great Britain would not in return receive a Consul from Chili? His Lordship answered that such reciprocity did not appear to follow as a duty, Chili being not yet recognised by other nations as an established power; but he said that the instructions to Sir Thomas Hardy directed him to pay respect to all the just regulations of trade and commerce established by those exercising the powers of Government in Chili.

October 10. We were at Drury Lane last night. Guy Mannering was the play, and “Scots who have with Wallace bled,” was sung by Braham, long a famous singer, whom we had not heard before. The song, which breathes the spirit of freedom and heroism, was enthusiastically applauded, and encored

twice. The Duke of Kent was present. "God save the King" was sung by all the performers, the band playing it, and the curtain rising, as well as the audience, when he first entered his box. This member of the Royal family seems a favorite. General Harper remarked, after a conversation of a few minutes with him at the Levee, that, although unable to judge of his intellectual powers in an interview so brief, he was struck with his well-selected words and clear enunciation of them; the latter not being characteristic of all the Royal Dukes.

November 9. On the 4th instant, Lord Castlereagh wrote me the following note:—

Lord Castlereagh presents his compliments to Mr. Rush, and will be happy to have the honor of seeing him at eleven o'clock, A.M., the 5th instant, if that hour is not inconvenient to Mr. Rush.

Foreign Office, November 4th, 1819.

Through an accident, the note did not get to my hands until the evening of the 5th, and intermediate notes between us having arranged this day (the 9th) for the interview, it accordingly took place. It was on a subject his Lordship had much at heart—that of the slave-trade. After a word of explanation on the

short notice given in his first note, which arose from his being still partly at North Cray and partly in town; he remarked, that the Government of Great Britain had lost none of its anxiety to see a more universal and effective cooperation among independent states for putting down the traffic. It was still carried on, he said, to a lamentable extent; and, in some respects, as evidence collected by the African Institution and from other sources would show, was marked by more than all its original outrages upon humanity. It was the intention of the Prince Regent again to invite the United States to negotiate upon the subject, in the hope, notwithstanding what had hitherto passed, that some practicable mode might yet be found by which they could yield their assent to an association with other powers for accomplishing the object which all had in view. That I was aware of the addresses to the Prince Regent, presented by both Houses of Parliament at the close of the last session, for the renewal of negotiations with foreign powers, naming especially the United States and France, for rendering more effectual the laws passed for abolishing the trade; and that in consequence of this step it was his intention to enclose to me, at an early day, copies of these addresses, as the founda-



tion of a new endeavour which his Majesty's Government was now about to make with that of the United States. In doing so, his purpose, at present, merely was to bespeak my interposition towards making known to the President the measures contemplated, it being intended that all future negotiation should be carried on at Washington. This he thought indispensable after the past failure, as it could not be supposed that I was prepared with any new authority or instructions to resume negotiations on this side of the water. That their newly-appointed Minister, Mr. Canning, who, his Lordship now informed me, would embark early in the spring, would accordingly have the subject in charge, and be prepared to enter upon it on his arrival at Washington, under hopes the most anxious of an auspicious termination to his labors.

I replied that I would, as before, be happy to make known to my Government whatever communication he might honor me with. I adverted again to the obstacles which the constitution of the United States interposed to the project of naval concert with foreign powers, and to the peculiar and extreme caution with which the question of search would be viewed throughout our country. I said that these reasons strongly superadded themselves to the



failure of the attempt already made here, to give a propriety to changing the place of negotiation, and, therefore, I was very glad to learn that the new endeavour was to be made at Washington. I believed that the President had all his original sensibility to the importance of the subject, and I could not doubt but that he would receive any proposals from his Majesty's Government, differently modified from the last, with an earnest desire to turn them to good ends, as far as might be practicable, towards suppressing the traffic. I remarked, that as England had declared that the principles of the Holy Alliance had her approbation, though she was no formal party to it, so the United States, acting within their constitutional limits, had long and earnestly desired, as much so as the powers of Europe possibly could, to see the slave-trade abolished, although unable to be a formal party with them in the work. Here I adverted to what Lord Liverpool said last winter in the House of Peers; viz., that as the signature of the European Sovereigns to the Holy Alliance were all by their own hands, England could not join in it, as the Prince Regent was restrained, by the fundamental doctrine of the British constitution, from giving his autograph signature, without the intervention of a re-

sponsible Minister. With such an illustration as this, I remarked to his Lordship, that the embarrassment which met us under our constitutional system of government, might perhaps be the more readily seen. He admitted it, but expressed hopes that such and all other embarrassments might in the end be overcome by proper modifications of the plan in question.

The interview, after some incidental conversation growing out of the general subject, here closed.

In the evening I dined with my friend, Mr. George Marx, Bedford Place, a merchant connected with the American trade; known for his mercantile intelligence, and general information, not less than for his private worth, and hospitable attention to Americans.

November 14. Received a note from Lord Castlereagh, dated the 11th instant, in fulfilment of his intention, made known to me in the foregoing interview. It covered manuscript copies of the address presented to the Prince Regent by both Houses of Parliament, to which his Lordship had referred. The following is a copy of his note:—

The undersigned, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has the honor to transmit to Mr. Rush by command

of the Prince Regent, a copy of addresses which were presented by both Houses of Parliament at the close of the last Session to his Royal Highness, which his Royal Highness has to request Mr. Rush will lay before the President, with an intimation that it is the Prince Regent's earnest desire to enter without delay into discussion with the Government of the United States upon the important subject to which these addresses refer, and in the successful accomplishment of which, the common feelings and reputation of both States, are equally and deeply involved.

It has occurred to the Prince Regent that the difficulties which have hitherto operated to prevent a common system of concert and prevention between the two Governments, as directed against the illicit slave-trade, could be most satisfactorily examined by selecting Washington as the seat of deliberation. Under this impression, the undersigned has delayed to transmit to Mr. Rush the addresses in question, till he could accompany them with some proposition to be conveyed to the Government of the United States, for giving practical effect to the views of Parliament. The undersigned having lately had the honor of acquainting Mr. Rush that Mr. Stratford Canning had been selected by the Prince Regent to replace



Mr. Bagot as his Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary in America, and as that gentleman will proceed to his mission early in the spring, and will carry with him full instructions on this subject, the undersigned has to request Mr. Rush will invite his Government on the part of the Prince Regent, to enter, as soon as may be after Mr. Canning's arrival, upon the proposed discussions.

Upon a subject so deeply interesting to humanity, the Government of the United States can never require any other impulse than that of its moral principles to awaken it to exertion; but whatever of aid good offices can contribute to smoothe the way for an amicable and advantageous proceeding on such a matter, the undersigned is convinced will be supplied by Mr. Rush's zeal, and enlightened attachment to the success of the great cause which the inquiry involves; and in this view the recommendation is specially recommended to his personal support and protection.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to Mr. Rush the assurances of his distinguished consideration.

CASTLEREAGH.

Foreign Office, 11th November, 1819.

November 16. To the above note, I returned the following answer:—



The undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, has the honor to present his compliments to Lord Castlereagh, and to acknowledge the receipt of his note of the 11th of this month.

The copy of the addresses to the Prince Regent from both Houses of Parliament at the close of the last Session respecting the slave-trade, which, by command of his Royal Highness, came enclosed in his Lordship's note, with a request that they might be laid before the President, the undersigned will lose no time in transmitting to the Secretary of State with that view. The intimation of its being the earnest desire of the Prince Regent to enter without delay into discussions with the United States upon the important subject to which these addresses refer, and in the successful accomplishment of which the two nations have a common interest, will, the undersigned is persuaded, be met by his Government in the same spirit which has given birth to the desire in the mind of his Royal Highness.

The undersigned cannot avoid expressing his acquiescence in the opinion, that the difficulties which have hitherto operated to prevent a system of concert between the two

Governments against the illicit slave-trade, are most likely to be satisfactorily examined by selecting Washington as the seat of deliberation. If, happily, they are of a nature to be removed, it is by such a transfer of the seat of a new endeavour, that the best hopes may be formed; and it is hence with peculiar satisfaction that the undersigned learns that Mr. Canning when proceeding on his mission to the United States, will carry with him such full instructions on the whole subject, as may prepare him for entering upon the interesting duty of giving effect to the views of Parliament. The undersigned will not fail to make known this intention to his Government, by the earliest opportunity he can command.

Upon a subject so universally interesting to humanity, Lord Castlereagh has justly inferred that the Government of the United States can never require any other incentive than that of its own moral impulse to awaken it to exertion. But if, upon the present occasion it needed any other, the undersigned must be permitted to say, that it would be abundantly found in the friendly and enlarged spirit of this renewed overture from his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and in the liberal justice rendered to the early and steadfast efforts of the United States to abolish the

slave-trade by the addresses in question from the Parliament of this realm.

Following up their uniform policy in this great cause, never tired of adopting new expedients of prohibition where new evasions have pointed to their necessity, the undersigned is happy to be able to state, feeling sure that the information cannot be otherwise than acceptable to the unwearied and useful zeal of his Lordship in the same cause, that besides the law of April 1818, of which the undersigned had the honor to speak in his note of the 21st of December of that year, a subsequent Act of Congress, of date so recent as last March, has raised up additional means for the extirpation of the traffic. By this Act, the President is specially authorised to employ armed vessels of the United States to cruise upon the coasts of Africa, and other new provisions are introduced for intercepting and punishing such delinquent citizens of the United States as may be found engaged in the traffic. It is well known that the sentiments of the President are in full harmony with those of Congress in the beneficent desire of putting a stop to this deep-rooted evil. With such pledges before the world, the undersigned cannot err in confidently anticipating that the fresh proposals of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent

will be promptly taken up at Washington, under the deepest convictions of their importance, and with every anxious desire for such favorable results as can be made compatible with the constitution, and other essential interests of the Republic.

The undersigned is happy to embrace this occasion of renewing to Lord Castlereagh the assurances of his distinguished consideration.

RICHARD RUSH.

London, November 16, 1819.

Allusion being made in the above answer to the justice which the Parliamentary addresses render to the United States in connexion with this subject, I insert one of them, that its words may be seen. I take the one from the House of Lords.

Die Veneris, 9 Julii, 1819.

Ordered, *nemine dissentiente*, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, that an humble Address, &c.

RESOLVED,

That an humble Address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to assure his Royal Highness that we acknowledge with becoming thankfulness the zealous and persevering efforts which, in conformity with former addresses of this House, his Royal Highness has made for accomplishing the total an-



nihilation of the African Slave Trade by all the Foreign Powers whose subjects had hitherto been engaged in it.

That we also congratulate his Royal Highness on the success with which his efforts have been already attended, that guilty traffic having been declared, by the concurrent voice of all the great powers of Europe assembled in Congress, to be repugnant to the principles of humanity and of universal morality.

That, in consequence of this declaration, all the states, whose subjects were formerly concerned in this criminal traffic, have since prohibited it;—the greater part absolutely and entirely; some for a time, partially, on that part of the coast of Africa only, which is to the north of the Line. Of the two states which still tolerate the traffic, one will soon cease to be thus distinguished; the period which Spain has solemnly fixed for the total abolition of the trade being near at hand. One power alone\* has hitherto forborne to specify any period when the traffic shall be absolutely abandoned.

That the United States of America were honorably distinguished as the first which pronounced the condemnation of this guilty traffic; and that they have since successively passed

\* Portugal.

various laws for carrying their prohibition into effect ; that, nevertheless, we cannot but hear with feelings of deep regret that, notwithstanding the strong condemnation of the crime by all the great Powers of Europe, and by the United States of America, there is reason to fear that the measures which have been hitherto adopted for actually suppressing these crimes, are not adequate to their purpose.

That we never, however, can admit the persuasion, that so great and generous a people as that of France, which has condemned this guilty commerce in the strongest terms, will be less earnest than ourselves to wipe away so foul a blot in the character of a Christian people.

That we are, if possible, still less willing to admit such a supposition in the instance of the United States,—a people derived originally from the same common stock with ourselves, and favored, like ourselves, in a degree hitherto perhaps unequalled in the history of the world, with the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, and all their attendant blessings.

That the consciousness that the Government of this country was originally instrumental in leading the Americans into this criminal course, must naturally prompt us to call on them the more importunately to join us in endeavour-

ing to put an entire end to the evils of which it is productive.

That we also conceive that the establishment of some concert and co-operation in the measures to be taken by the different powers for the execution of their common purpose may, in various respects, be of great practical utility; and that, under the impression of this persuasion, several of the European states have already entered into conventional arrangements for seizing vessels engaged in the criminal traffic, and for bringing to punishment those who shall still be guilty of these nefarious practices.

That we, therefore, supplicate his Royal Highness to renew his beneficent endeavours, more especially with the Governments of France and of the United States of America, for the effectual attainment of an object which we all profess equally to have in view; and we cannot but indulge the confident hope that these efforts may yet, ere long, produce their desired effect; may ensure the practical enforcement of principles universally acknowledged to be undeniably just and true; and may destroy for ever that fatal barrier which, by obstructing the ordinary course of civilization and social improvement, has so long kept a large portion of the globe in darkness and barbarism, and rendered its connexion with the civilized and

Christian nations of the earth a fruitful source only of wretchedness and desolation.

ORDERED :

That the said address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent by the Lords, with white staves.

The address from the House of Commons was the same, or with no substantial variations.

November 17. The following letter to Mr. Gallatin, belonging to subjects on which I have heretofore addressed him, is inserted as closing the information I gave him respecting our joint negotiation.

London, November 17, 1819.

DEAR SIR :

I reproach myself for having so long delayed apprizing you of the issue of my attempt to arrange the subject of the West-India trade with this Government. Considering all that you did a twelvemonth ago here, upon that and other branches of our joint negotiation, I think that you have a fair claim to know how it has ended. I cannot put you in possession of this information better than by conveying to your hands a copy of my report to the Department of State, drawn up the day after



my interview with Lord Castlereagh on the 16th of September: it is accordingly enclosed in this letter.

My last dates from the department are to the 23rd of August. I am informed by them, as doubtless you have been, of the course to be pursued, so far as the executive determination is concerned, under the refusal by Spain to ratify the Florida Treaty. Mr. Forsyth writes to me that Ferdinand persists in his refusal.

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I believe I have not yet thanked you for your favor of the 12th of September, which gave me valuable information. I had never before heard with certainty, that pending the negotiation at Washington about the Floridas, we had unequivocally refused to connect with it any question about recognizing the Spanish Colonies. The contrary, you may recollect, was affirmed in Parliament, and almost universally in the British journals. I never believed it, and so expressed myself on all occasions, but had not the means of positive contradiction.

We are all well and unite in remembrances

to Mrs. Gallatin, Miss Frances, and the young gentlemen.

From, dear sir,

Yours with faithful respect,

RICHARD RUSH.

Albert Gallatin, Esq., Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, Paris.

## CHAPTER XIII.

NUMBER OF AMERICAN VESSELS IN BRITISH PORTS.—DINNER AT THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER'S.—OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.—AN EARLY SESSION CALLED ON ACCOUNT OF THE DISTURBANCES OF THE COUNTRY.—LEVEE AT CARLTON HOUSE.—FÊTE AT THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR'S.—THE HORSE-GUARDS CALLED OUT.—DUTY ON TOBACCO, SNUFF, AND HOPS.—DINNER AT MR. COLQUHOUN'S.—INTERVIEW ON OFFICIAL SUBJECTS WITH LORD CASTLE-REAGH. — ENGLAND CONSENTS TO THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA AS UMPIRE UNDER THE DISPUTED ARTICLE OF THE TREATY OF GHENT.

November 19. IN a dispatch of to-day to the Secretary of State, I mention the following facts: viz., that at the close of last month there were but *two* vessels of the United States in the port of Liverpool; and during the first week of the present month, only a single one in the port of London.

The number of United States vessels annually arriving at Liverpool before and since the war of 1812, has frequently been from three to four hundred, sometimes more, the most of them ships of good size; and the

arrivals at London since the spring of 1815 until the close of 1818, have been sixty-four annually, taking the average.

The extraordinary falling off is ascribed to the numerous commercial failures, and to the depression of business generally in the United States; of which the condition of the State Banks, and Bank of the United States, is given as one of the causes. Many of these institutions have failed, and others been greatly embarrassed in their affairs; whilst all the resources and energies of the country remain the same, indued with their intrinsic principle of increase.

At seven in the evening, I went to dinner at the Chancellor of the Exchequer's, where we had several of the Diplomatic Corps and other company. Again we were in the dining-room of Mr. Pitt and Sir Robert Walpole, with memorials of the times of each around us; and none were better able to call them up, with appropriate anecdote and allusions, at his table, than our hospitable entertainer.

November 24. Parliament was opened yesterday by the Prince Regent in person. I was in the Ambassador's box, with the rest of the Diplomatic Corps. As the Regent read his Speech, the Duke of Wellington stood on the Throne by his side, holding the sword of state.



The Speech began as usual with announcing, in terms of regret, the continued indisposition of the King; and it told both Houses that his Royal Highness continued to receive from Foreign Powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards England.

Parliament has been opened at a day unusually early, and the Speech assigns the disturbed state of the country as the cause. Seditious practices stated to have been prevalent in some of the manufacturing districts, (Manchester, and the riots in that vicinity in August, being chiefly meant,) had led Ministers to make some addition to the military force, with a view to their more effectual suppression. For this step, they desire the sanction of Parliament, as well as for other measures contemplated by them in aid of the public tranquillity, and due execution of the laws.

The usual Address, reflecting back the Speech and adopting its sentiments, was moved in both Houses, but strongly opposed by Earl Grey in the House of Lords, and Mr. Tierney in the House of Commons; each of whom moved an amendment. After debate, the Ministers triumphed by large majorities in both Houses, thus carrying the Address as it stood.

The Speech had also a paragraph relating to the depression existing in certain branches of

the manufactures, and consequent distress among those connected with them. Speakers in both Houses, whilst handling that part of it, made allusions to distresses existing in the United States, some of them alleging that they were more general and severe than in England. Even the Speech from the Throne stated that the depressed condition of the manufactures was in a great measure to be ascribed to the embarrassed situation of other countries.

It is worthy of remark, on the other hand, that in the United States, our newspapers and public documents ascribed our distresses in a great degree to the depressed condition of business and industry abroad, but chiefly to the distresses in England.

Both to a certain extent were true; and what can more show the dependence of countries one upon another? And may I not, in this connexion, be allowed to recall the declarations made to Mr. Gallatin and me by Lord Castlereagh, when opening an important negotiation between the two countries at North Cray? Upon that occasion, amongst other sentiments which he uttered, he said, "Let us, in short, strive so to regulate our intercourse in all respects, as that each nation may be able to do its utmost towards making the other rich and happy."

A liberal sentiment, and wise as liberal ;—one in unison with the spirit of an age which seeks to lessen the causes of national dissension and war ;—a sentiment, than which no better motto could be chosen by all nations entering upon negotiation, and most especially suited to the United States and England, as having common interests and sympathies perhaps beyond all others existing.

November 26. Attend the Levee at Carlton House. Converse with Mr. Robinson, Mr. Vansittart, Lord Westmoreland, the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Stratford Canning, and several of the Diplomatic Corps. Hear nothing of our own affairs. Topics are general. The disturbed state of the country is one ; the weather another ; the weather — always a topic in England, because, as Johnson says, it is always uncertain ; and this season especially a topic, winter having set in uncommonly soon ; which as one remarks it to another, the ball of conversation thus gets its first motion. And before any one pronounces it an unapt topic, let him turn to Johnson's essay on the subject in the *Idler*.

November 29. Mr. Coke dines with us. He is all cordiality and good spirits. His conversation is of England, English persons, and English things. He told anecdotes—some of

the Royal Family. There was this of the late Queen: that on the evening after the duel between the Duke of York and Duke of Richmond, then Colonel Lenox, the Queen met the latter in one of the Court circles, and was more than usually gracious, offering her hand as she first addressed him. He told some of the Prince Regent, who used to be his guest at Holkham, when Prince of Wales. Speaking of the nobility, he said, that of the eighteen Dukes in the three kingdoms, nine were on the Ministerial side, and nine in opposition; he enumerated the latter, most of whom were his friends; and added that two of the Royal Dukes, the Duke of Kent and Duke of Sussex, usually voted also with the Opposition. Speaking of the *taxes*, he said, that himself and others of his county, whom he named, (opulent landholders,) had resolved that they would pay no more; that is, if they were taxed higher in some things, they would retrench their consumption in others, so as to keep at the point where they stood.

How Mr. Coke would have reconciled retrenchment anywhere, with all his munificent and long-indulged hospitalities, was not for me to inquire. The Duke of Medina Celi, in Spain, once finding his expenses too great, determined on retrenchment. Calling up his



butler, chamberlain, equerry, and all others, he desired to know what could be dispensed with; and, upon receiving reports from all, it was ascertained that the only item which could possibly be struck from the annual expenses, consistently with the comforts and dignity of his household, was *one lamp* in the hall! Would the noble-hearted proprietor of Holkham, whom I am proud to have called my friend, have retrenched after that fashion?

December 16. The Spanish Ambassador gave a grand entertainment last night in honor of the marriage of his Sovereign to a Princess of Saxony. The Prince Regent, the Dukes of York, Clarence, Kent, and Gloucester; Prince Leopold; the Duke of Wellington; the members of the Cabinet; the Foreign Ambassadors, and Ministers, and their ladies; many of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, were there.

My carriage arrived at the door about half-past ten, when we witnessed an unexpected scene. Inside and out, the Ambassador's whole domicile was illuminated. In front of it, on the wide flag pavement, was drawn up a strong detachment of the Horse Guards, their heels close upon the iron palisades, and heads facing the street. Every sword was drawn. The bright steel, the scarlet uniforms and jet-black horses,

were imposingly shown by a thousand lamps; and, although the crowd in Portland-place seemed immense, through the glasses of our carriage, all was silence. As we got out, not a word was heard from the assembled mass. All seemed gazing at the Ambassador's domicile, blazing with light, and the array of cavalry under its windows. The scene was inexplicable until we entered. I then learned that the Government, having been warned of a probable disturbance, owing to the high names which it was supposed this fête would bring together, had called out these Horse Guards.

All was tranquillity inside: the banquet was sumptuous. Amidst the train of servants were two called running footmen, in livery different from the rest, and wearing plumes. One stood behind the Prince Regent's chair, the other behind that of the Duchess of San Carlos. Besides other arrangements which the Ambassador had made for the pleasure of his guests, there was one as precautionary against accident; he had caused fire-engines, and a supply of firemen, to be stationed close at hand in case of fire, so profuse were the lights inside and out of the mansion.

The Prince Regent went away before the general company. None go while he remains—this would not be in proper form; and it

was observed that a party of the Horse Guards attended him to Carlton House, as his carriage drove off.

December 20. In my dispatch of this date to the Secretary of State, I mention that a Bill has been brought into the House of Commons for continuing the duty on tobacco, snuff, and hops for the ensuing year. Hops are charged with a specific duty on importation from foreign countries, of five pounds eight shillings sterling the hundredweight. This amounts to a prohibition of our hops, as Mr. Hanbury told me, unless in years when the English crop fails, or is short. There is no duty, strictly speaking, on the *importation* of tobacco, but when delivered for home consumption in England from a ship arriving from foreign parts, it is immediately subject to an excise, many hundred per cent. above the original cost of the article; which bears hard upon it, as one of the productions of our old southern states, and some of our new states.

December 22. Dined at Mr. Colquhoun's, St. James's-street, author of "The Power and Resources of the British Empire," "Police of London," and other works. Of the company were Major General Wittingham, the newly appointed Governor of Dominica, with some West India proprietors and other gentlemen,



and the son of Mr. Colquhoun, Consul-general from the Hanseatic Republic.

We had much conversation; and the table displayed honorable tokens of merit in silver vases and other ornamental articles, presents from the Senate of Hamburg, the Island of St. Vincent's, and other communities, to the elder Mr. Colquhoun, for faithful services rendered in the management of their affairs, private or political, in the course of a long and active life in London. For wines, we had them of quality and variety to suit all. There was old hock, a present from the Senate of Hamburg; and claret was produced, that had been seven years under water. It was in an outward bound Indiaman, going as part of a stock to the Marquis of Wellesley, when Governor General of India. The vessel being wrecked, the wine was brought up by a diving machine, after that lapse of time. Being in bottles well corked, it remained sound, and in the opinion of the table, had not lost its flavor. All agreed, that its original destination was a fair pledge of its good quality when shipped.

“ Bacchus and fostering Ceres, powers divine,  
Who gave us corn for mast, for water wine !”

Than the classic statesman for whom this wine was first intended, none could better have parodied this tribute to Bacchus, by chaunting



in verse how delicious it continued, even after rising from its watery bed !

During the evening, the conversation turned on West India interests ; in which, under appeals to me, I participated as far as I justly might. There was a desire to learn from me the state of the negotiations between the United States and England under this head. I stated, in a word, the views of the former as disclosed in the negotiations of last year, the result having been published at Washington ; but did not speak of the recent communications I had made to Lord Castlereagh, and received from him.

1820. January 13. Had an interview with Lord Castlereagh at my request, the object in part being to determine upon an umpire under the first article of the Treaty of Ghent. As the United States construed the article, it threw an obligation upon England to make compensation for all slaves the property of their citizens, who, at the date of the ratifications, were in any territory or places directed by the treaty to be restored, but were then still occupied by the British, whether the slaves were on shore at that date, or on board of British vessels lying within our waters.

England objected to so broad a construction, alleging that she was absolved from making compensation for any of the slaves who, at that

date, had been transferred from our territory to her ships of war, still lying within our waters.

And now, at this interview with Lord Castle-reagh, I proposed the Emperor of Russia as the umpire, under the provisions upon this subject in the fifth article of the Convention of October 1818. He replied that he would lay my proposal before the Prince Regent, and furnish me with an answer at as early a day as was in his power.

I next broached the subject of the interference, on the part of the British authorities in Upper Canada, with the Indians residing within our territory, stating in general terms the extent and injurious consequences of it. I said that my Government had no belief that a proceeding so unfriendly had its foundation in any act or intentions of his Majesty's Government; but that harmony would be best promoted through its suppression by his Majesty's Government. I told his Lordship that I would, at an early day, put into his hands documents on this subject, showing how the facts were. He promised that all proper attention should be paid to it.

I also read to him the copy of a letter from the Navy Department, written by order of the President to Commodore Stewart, commander of our squadron in the Mediterranean, on the

subject of the duels between certain officers of the sloop of war Erie, belonging to the squadron, and certain British officers of the 64th regiment, belonging to the garrison at Gibraltar. The latter conveyed the President's disapprobation of such practices, with the expression of his hopes that they would not be repeated, and that all causes of them might be avoided.

These matters disposed of, I referred incidentally to the President's Message to Congress at the opening of the Session last month, remarking to him, "You see, my Lord, that the Government of the United States is for acting upon the principles of an English court of equity—good authority, we hope it is, for carrying our agreement with Spain into specific execution." "So I perceive," he replied; "but do you consider it a part of national law, that if one party refuse to ratify a treaty, even admitting no departure from instructions by the Minister negotiating it, that the other party may go on to act as if the provisions were in full force?" I said No, and that no such principle was asserted, or, as I apprehended, implied in the message; the measure had been taken on a basis of its own, and was thought to be justifiable by the long and injurious delays practised by Spain in regard to



all the matters in dispute; delays which we believed the whole world, when well informed of them, would admit to have been unjust. His Lordship barely rejoined, that he supposed our explanation would be to that effect.

January 17. The weather, for upwards of a month, has been very cold. The thermometer has been nearly all the time from 15 to 25 degrees below the freezing point. The Thames is frozen over. In the neighbourhood of Kew Bridge the ice is stated to be eighteen inches thick, and in some places near Woolwich four feet. Snow has fallen in great quantities. The papers contain accounts of persons having been frozen to death in different parts of the country, and of great suffering among the poor from the severity of the weather.

January 20. I addressed a note to Lord Castlereagh on the 15th instant, requesting an interview for the purpose of putting into his hands a copy of the papers which make known the interference on the part of the British Colonial authorities in Upper Canada with the Indians within our limits. His Lordship being out of town, I was invited to-day to the Foreign Office by Mr. Planta, as representing him.

He acknowledged, on behalf of Lord Castle-



reagh, the receipt of my note, and said that his Lordship would appoint a time for seeing me as soon as he returned to town. He then made the following communications under instructions from Lord Castlereagh.

He said that his Lordship had taken the commands of the Prince Regent as to the umpire on the point in controversy respecting the slaves carried away under the Treaty of Ghent, and that his Royal Highness assented to the President's desire, that the true construction of the treaty in this particular should be referred to the decision of the Emperor of Russia. His Lordship being desirous that I should be informed without loss of time of this assent, would not leave town without causing it to be thus imparted to me; and Mr. Planta added, that as soon as his Lordship returned, he would suggest such official steps as it appeared to the British Government proper for both Governments to adopt with a view to give effect to their mutual desire.

The other communications which Mr. Planta made to me were embraced in a dispatch received by Lord Bathurst as Secretary of the Colonial Department, from the Governor of New Providence. This paper he read to me at the instance of Lord Castlereagh. It bore date, Nassau, September the 30th, 1819, and in-

formed Lord Bathurst, that the Seminole King, Kenadjie, had arrived at that island with six Indian chiefs and seventeen attendants; that all these Indians had merit in the eyes of Great Britain from having rendered assistance to the British forces in the attack upon New Orleans, and that they claimed the countenance and support of the Governor, as representing the British Government in that quarter; nevertheless the Governor replied, that he would not interfere in any way in their behalf during a state of peace with the United States, and sent them home again, with no other relief than that which humanity prescribed to their immediate and pressing wants.

I thanked Mr. Planta for the communications, begging him to assure Lord Castlereagh that I would promptly make known both to my Government, as I accordingly did. I also in due time apprized Mr. Campbell, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at St. Petersburg, of the assent of the British Government to the Emperor Alexander, as umpire; and I gave the same information to Mr. Gallatin at Paris.

## CHAPTER XIV.

DEATH OF THE DUKE OF KENT.—DEATH OF GEORGE THE THIRD. — SOLEMNITIES AND CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE DEMISE OF THE CROWN.—THE PRINCE REGENT ASCENDS THE THRONE.—DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT DETERMINED UPON.—STATE OF THINGS BETWEEN THE KING AND PRINCESS OF WALES.—INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH. — CATO STREET CONSPIRACY. — DINNER AT THE TRAVELLERS' CLUB. — DINNER AT MR. STRATFORD CANNING'S.—MEASURES OF PARLIAMENT UNDER THE DISTURBED STATE OF THE COUNTRY.—DINNER AT SIR EDMUND ANTROBUS'S, AND AT MR. HOLLAND'S.

January 28. ON the 23rd of this month, died at Sidmouth, in Devonshire, the Duke of Kent, the fourth son of the King, in the fifty-third year of his age. A character of him in "The Times" of a few days ago, enumerates, among topics of eulogy, that he was "a kind master, and a punctual and courteous correspondent." Referring to his rigor as a disciplinarian, even to things the most minute, while in military command, the same article has the following remarks: "His attention to the appearance and discipline of his regiment was unremitting; but, as he could not inspire

all the military world with an equal sense of the solid value of those dry details which ought to employ so large a portion of military life, or with an equal taste for those minutiae of the service, of which, nevertheless, when considered in the aggregate, the correct performance adds so much to the precision and efficacy of military tactics, he was, for some time, an unpopular commander. Every military man is not capable of discovering, in the best conceived order or wisest rule laid down for his observation by superior authority, the direct relation of the means to the end. It may not be thought, at first, of serious importance that an officer's coat or sword-belt should be of a specific fashion or color; but let us consider that the excellence of an army consists in its susceptibility of collective and uniform impulses; and we must admit that uniformity in smaller things—in hourly occupations and objects of attention—nay, in the form of hats, or a boot, may contribute to enforce upon common minds the main principle of harmony in action."

The Grecian Phalanx, the Roman Legion, and the army of Frederick, sustain the spirit of these remarks, which forcibly express and condense the maxims of military wisdom.

January 31. On the evening of the 29th



instant, the King died at Windsor Castle, in the eighty-second year of his age. This event was announced to the Foreign Ministers by a note from the Secretary for Foreign Affairs yesterday. The following is a copy of the one I received :—

It is with the deepest concern that Viscount Castlereagh, one of his late Majesty's Principal Secretaries for Foreign Affairs, has the honor to acquaint Mr. Rush that it has pleased Almighty God to take unto himself his late most gracious and excellent Majesty, George the Third. His Majesty expired at the Castle at Windsor yesterday evening, at thirty-five minutes past eight o'clock, to the great affliction of all the Royal Family, and of all classes of his Majesty's subjects. Viscount Castlereagh is persuaded that Mr. Rush will participate in the general grief which this melancholy event has occasioned, and requests that he will accept the assurances of his high consideration.

Foreign Office, January 30th, 1820.

The King's long reign of sixty years made the earlier parts of it historical to the generation that now witnessed his death. This was the case with all Americans born at the

close of the American Revolution, and was my case. To this English Monarch's well-known remark on receiving the first Minister from the United States (Mr. Adams), viz., that as he had been the "last man in his kingdom to consent to our Independence, so he would be the last, now that it was established, to call it in question." I can add another anecdote, derived from an authentic source. Mr. West, the painter, whose patron and friend the King was, being with him during the American War, on an occasion when news came of a victory over the Americans, the King gave expression to his feelings. Observing Mr. West to remain silent, while all was gladness in the palace, he remarked, "Why so silent, Mr. West?—why not rejoice?" The latter replied, "I hope that your Majesty will not take it amiss if I cannot feel pleasure in hearing of misfortunes to those amongst whom I was born, and passed my early days." "Right, right, West—a good sentiment: I honor you for it," was the King's reply.

These anecdotes might have been sufficient, had there not been other duties prompting to it, to secure a respectful answer to Lord Castlereagh's note, responding to the forms of his own. I accordingly sent one of that kind. The venerable age of this King, and

the affliction with which he was visited during so many of the latter years of his life, made him largely an object of sympathy with all classes in England. He seems to have outlived political animosity, and to have closed his long and eventful reign amidst the general good-will of his people; a feeling that was extended and strengthened by the purity of his private life.

Besides the foregoing note from Lord Castlereagh, there came enclosed to me by his Lordship a copy of the London Gazette Extraordinary of the 30th of January, containing a letter from the Duke of York, dated at Windsor, to Lord Sidmouth, Home Secretary, announcing the King's death as soon as it happened, and enclosing the statement of his physicians. A copy of the Gazette of the 31st was also sent to me, mentioning that on the information of the King's death reaching London, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and those of the Privy Council, and other persons named, assembled at Carlton House, and duly published and proclaimed George IV., late Prince of Wales, as lawful King of the Realm; and that the same authority had given orders for proclaiming him in proper form. The Gazette further contained the declaration of the new King to the people of the realm; in which, amongst



other things, he pledges himself to use his endeavors to promote their happiness and prosperity, and to maintain unimpaired the religion, laws, and liberties of the country.

February 1. Yesterday the new King was proclaimed in due ceremony, with processions, civil, military, and heraldic, in different parts of the metropolis. First, in front of his own palace, Carlton House; next, near King Charles's statue, Charing Cross; next, in the City, Fleet Street, after some strange old forms at Temple Bar between the local authorities of the City and the herald king-at-arms on the part of the King, before the gates were thrown open to the King; and finally, at the Royal Exchange. The Park and Tower guns were firing all the while, and trumpets sounding, and divers other manifestations of joy going on; all which, to a Republican of another hemisphere, might have seemed in contrast with the tolling of the great bell of St. Paul's for the death of George III., the solemn sounds of which were still in the public ear.

The foregoing ceremonial would have taken place the day after the death of the late King, but that the 30th of January is still observed under an Act of Parliament as a solemn fast-day, being the anniversary of the execution of Charles I., and church service is prescribed



for the day, so that the joyous ceremonial was deferred until yesterday.

The Cabinet Ministers of the late King resigned their appointments, on the morning after his death, into the hands of the Home Secretary, Lord Sidmouth, when the new Sovereign immediately reappointed them all.

The letters of credence of all the Foreign Ministers being, in form, to the late King, though the present King as Prince Regent administered the government in his name, the death of the former vacated these also; but Lord Castlereagh gave an intimation that it was the desire of the new King that they should all be considered as in full force and virtue, until the respective Governments of the Foreign Ministers were heard from.

February 2. I receive from the office of the Lord Chamberlain the following paper, relative to a Court mourning. A similar one was sent to all the Ambassadors and Ministers; I copy it word for word.

Orders for the Court's going into mourning on Thursday next, the 3rd instant, for our late Most Gracious Sovereign King George the Third, of blessed memory, viz.; the ladies to wear black bombazines; plain muslin or long

linen, crape hoods, shamoy shoes and gloves, and crape fans. **UNDRESS**—Dark Norwich crape.

The gentlemen to wear black cloth, without buttons on the sleeves and pockets; plain muslin or long lawn cravats and weepers; shamoy shoes and gloves, crape hat-bands, and black swords and buckles. **UNDRESS**—Dark grey frocks.

I had received, a few days before, the orders for a Court mourning, in terms somewhat similar, for the Duke of Kent.

These are forms incidentally set down here, not for comment, but as things existing in great nations. They may thence arrest a momentary attention. Motives may be perceived why the Foreign Ministers residing at the English Court, and in amicable intercourse with the circles composing it, would incline to fall in with the external symbols of mourning even to the extent of Hamlet's description of them all, should the Court itself choose to adopt them at the decease of a revered Monarch of their own, and a well-loved member of their own Royal Family—more especially when both were lying dead at the same time. Conformity in these things belongs to the class of sympathies embraced in the autograph

letters of President Monroe, and republics not inclining to conform should keep their Ministers at home. It might not be as generally imagined, that, within the compass of a few brief years, the same Foreign Ministers and their wives in London, were called upon to appear in the habiliments of grief for a King of Sweden, a Grand Duke of Tuscany, the King of Spain's mother, the King of Saxony's aunt, a Princess of Saxe Hilbourghausen, a Prince of Condé, a King of Sardinia, and for a long list in addition, as European royalty, direct, collateral, and remote, from time to time, passed to the tomb. But so it was.

February 5. The new King has been very ill since his accession. All the Diplomatic Corps have made inquiries at Carlton Palace daily for the last three or four days. The carriages of the nobility have also thronged his residence. The answers to inquiries to-day were, that he was better.

February 10. At an informal assemblage of some of the Diplomatic Corps at the Saxon Minister's, it was agreed that their servants, more especially their coachmen and footmen, should all be put in black for the late King. It was understood that the members of the Corps not present would all concur. The



venerable Saxon Minister remarked, that as it would be "an extra expense, of course our *Courts* would make a suitable allowance for it!" The American Minister, who was at the meeting, made no objection to the step, and put his servants in black accordingly; but as to *his* "Court," at Washington, it is certain that he never troubled it with any such item of expense.

February 11. I transmit to the Department of State, the Report and Appendix laid before Parliament on the subject of weights and measures. Also information and communications from Sir Joseph Banks on this subject, with which he obligingly furnished me—Sir Joseph (the President of the Royal Society) having been placed by the Prince Regent last year at the head of a commission in relation to the subject. The ancient models of weights and measures deposited in the English Exchequer at Guildhall, and other places, having by lapse of time and other causes varied from each other, so as to render perfect accuracy unattainable, the object of the commission was, to seek the right modes of rendering them accurate, and preserving them so. I send also to the Department various books; among them, Hansard's Parliamentary History, and Parliamentary Debates, and Pickering's edition of



the Statutes at Large ; all this under the instructions of Mr. Adams, who is engaged in preparing, by order of Congress, a report on weights and measures.

February 16. This day the funeral of George III. took place at Windsor. The shops in London were all shut, the streets deserted, and the tolling of the great bell of St. Paul's was heard at intervals throughout the whole day. I pass over the description of the funeral solemnities, given in all the chronicles of the day.

What a reign has been this monarch's ! The publications of the last fortnight have teemed with notices of it ; of the mighty scenes and revolutions which it has witnessed in both hemispheres ; the strife of arms throughout the world, with which it has been identified ; the dominion lost and gained to Britain during its term ; the stupendous results thence flowing and to flow ; and the revolutions in science and other things which it has also witnessed ! These things, and much more, the press has been recalling. History will take account of them all. But that which was most calculated to occupy the thoughts of an American Minister when George III. died, was the fact that his own country had been politically born after this extraordinary reign commenced ;

and the recollection of its astonishing increase, and increase of Britain also, whilst the same Monarch still continued upon the throne,—an increase in resources and power far transcending that of any other two nations of the globe during the same period. Their increase in population, throwing into the scale the Colonial and Oriental subjects of Britain, seems to stagger belief. Their aggregate increase in all ways has given earnest that Britain and the United States are destined to become, to an extent not easy to estimate, the predominating nations of Christendom; as already their joint commerce and tonnage, those fruitful causes and sure evidences of power in modern times, overmatches that of all Christendom. The demonstrations are in steady progress, and the death of George III. naturally recalled them, that the Anglo-Saxon race is to rule in the Western hemisphere, as the spirit of the same race rules in Asia. From east to west, the language, laws, commerce, and freedom of that great race are extending with resistless force, and must overspread, in primary activity and in civilizing power and influence, the face of the globe. If any thing could add to the force of such thoughts, crowding into the mind of a citizen of the United States officially witnessing the close of the reign of George III.

in his own kingdom, and called upon to join in badges of mourning at the termination of his mortal career, it would be a recollection of the prophecies at the close of the American revolution, made by master minds in both hemispheres, that the independence of the United States could not last, and that the downfall of Britain would date from that memorable dismemberment of her own empire. Short-sighted prophecies! Each an incumbrance to the other when together, their severance seems to have been the signal for unequalled progress, and boundless prospects to each; not more in material dominion than in the solid and durable glory of widening the empire of rational freedom throughout the world.

February 19. It has been determined that Parliament is to be dissolved, instead of waiting for the period when it would expire by law. This period is six months from the demise of the Crown. The Opposition strongly object to this course, saying that it covers an intention in the Ministry to set out with some high-handed acts of taxation or power under the new reign, which a Parliament, on the eve of responsibility to the people, would be reluctant to adopt. The Ministers reply, that they advise a dissolution for the public



convenience, as time might fail them if they attempted to go through all the business which the first session of the new reign will call for, if restricted to the six months; and also, that they advise it for the sake of avoiding those drawbacks to business in the House of Commons, and agitations to the country, always incident more or less to a general election in England.

Beyond this I hear, through a good source, that Ministers are uneasy at the state of things between the King and Princess of Wales, now become Queen. As Queen Consort in the eye of the law, by his accession to the Throne, she also succeeds to the rights and dignities of the station. The King is known to be opposed to her being invested with these, and is understood to desire a divorce. His constitutional advisers reply, that in no part of her conduct that has yet come to light do they discover a sufficient warrant for prosecuting adversely such a measure against her. So matters are said to rest at present, the new Queen being still out of the realm. I even hear, through another source, that the Ministers are prepared to withdraw from their posts rather than depart from the opinion which their duty has pointed out to them, perceiving no alternative course in any lights which they



can yet command ; and that this their determination has been made known to the King, who, for the present, submits himself to their guidance. It is thus that I write to my Government on the state of things since the demise of the Crown.

February 24. Going to Lord Castlereagh's at eleven this morning by appointment, the servant at the door informed me that he was not up. I expressed a hope that he was not unwell. The servant replied, that he did not know ; on which I handed him my card, telling him to give it to Lord Castlereagh, and say that I had called according to appointment. The servant immediately requested me to walk into the reception room, while he went up stairs with my card. He returned with a request from his Lordship that I would go up to his chamber ; on which I said that I should be most unwilling to disturb him if unwell. The servant repeated his Lordship's request and desire to see me, and accordingly I went up. There I found him sitting before the fire on a sofa, in his flannel gown. With his wonted courtesy, he apologized for giving me the trouble of coming up stairs ; to which I answered how happy I was to do so, unless I found him unwell, in which case I would not say a word on business, but have the honor of calling some

other time. He said No, he was quite well, but fatigued - from being kept up until nearly daylight through a cause he would mention ; but requested I would first proceed to the object of our interview, which he had not forgotten, and desired to hear from me the disclosures I had to lay before him.

My call related to a subject I had broached last month, further attention to which had been suspended by the King's death ; viz. interference, by the British authorities in Canada, with the Indians living within the boundaries of the United States ; and I now handed him the documents which went to show the facts. It appeared from the documents that an extraordinary number of the Indians within our limits, chiefly those inhabiting the region between Detroit and the Mississippi, had repaired by invitation during the last season to Malden, where supplies in great amount and variety, but chiefly arms, ammunition, and clothing, had been dealt out to them by the British authorities at that Canadian town and fort. That the number thus receiving supplies was thought to have exceeded all former example during any one year of peace or war hitherto, and had probably been little short of three thousand ; that the supplies had been in the nature of pure gifts, no equivalent appearing to

have passed from the Indians in land sold, or services rendered; that their journeys to and fro, were fraught with inconvenience and danger to the inhabitants of the United States dwelling within the region through which they passed, their property being trespassed upon and their quiet invaded by their irregular, riotous, and often nocturnal marches; that they travelled in gangs large enough to intimidate, and, as the natural effect of the presents they received at Malden, and perhaps of counsels given to them by the ill-disposed, uniformly returned through the United States territory with growing indications of ill-will towards our people. That my Government had no belief that such proceedings were, or could be, countenanced by his Majesty's Government, or known to it; but that long experience of the past had admonished us of the fatal consequences of this kind of intercourse with the Indians within our limits. That it was sure to sow the seeds of hostility in their minds, and, sooner or later, bring on murder and plunder, and often wide-spread desolation, to our frontier inhabitants; the final result of which was, when the United States were compelled to call out a force, the destruction of the Indians, whom it was never their wish to see destroyed, but to let them live in peace and



contentment. That it was in vain that we excluded British traders from the Indians within our limits, if multitudes of our Indians were invited to British depôts in Canada to be supplied with all they wanted ; since it was obvious that such practices were far worse for us than if a solitary British trader, here and there, stationed himself within our line, and thence entered upon his traffic with the Indians. That, in fine, the conduct complained of looked like systematically attracting formidable bodies of them from our territory for no other purpose than to receive annual subsidies, and train their passions for future and fatal mischief.

The documents which I put into his Lordship's hands consisted of communications from Governor Cass, Governor of the territory of Michigan, and residing in Detroit, to the Secretary of War, covering a great body of written evidence to substantiate the above facts. I concluded with an earnest request, in the President's name, that his Majesty's Government would issue the proper orders to the Colonial authorities or agents in Canada for putting a stop to the practices complained of, reminding his Lordship of the strong title which the United States had to ask such interposition, from having invariably on their part forborne to entertain intercourse with the In-



dians living within the limits of British possessions, anywhere along the line dividing the territories of the two nations.

He replied, that the subject was new to him until I had opened it last month; that he would carefully read the documents I had handed him, and then submit them to Lord Bathurst, to whose official province the subject primarily belonged; after which I might feel assured that such a course would be taken by his Majesty's Government as the nature of the complaint appeared justly to call for.

The subject was now gone through. I will own that I was not without curiosity to learn how it had come to pass that I was called upon to explain it in his Lordship's chamber; and now my curiosity was to be satisfied. He proceeded, with all calmness, to let me know the cause, and I had from him the following narrative:—

He said that he and his colleagues of the Administration had been kept up all night and almost until dawn by the affair of Thistlewood's conspiracy,—Thistlewood and his accomplices having been arrested and the plot crushed only since the preceding night had set in. This man, he said, with others, had formed a plot for murdering the whole of the Ministers, the perpetration of which was to

have been effected last evening; and, daring as it might appear, effected in *the dining-room* of Lord Harrowby, where it was known the Cabinet were all to have been together at dinner yesterday. The Members did not go to the dinner as intended, one of the conspirators having warned Lord Harrowby of the danger, though only yesterday, while he was riding on horseback in the park. He gave no countermand to his butler respecting the dinner, but suffered the arrangements for it to go on as if nothing had happened, until between seven and eight o'clock in the evening. Twelve Members of the Cabinet would have dined there, but for the warning. They assembled elsewhere; and a little before the time when, according to the warning, the conspirators were to have issued from their rendezvous, caused a force, civil and military, to be sent to the spot designated. This was a stable, to be entered through an archway, in an obscure street, called Cato Street, near the Edgeware Road, about two miles from Grosvenor Square, where Lord Harrowby resided; and in the loft of that stable, sure enough, the conspirators were found, fully armed, and ready to sally forth on their work of blood at the hour agreed upon. Fifteen or twenty were congregated. On a demand to surrender, they re-

sisted fiercely, and the civil officers being in advance, one of the latter was killed, others wounded, and all would probably have been overcome, but for the arrival of the military. The military coming up, led by Captain Fitzclarence, succeeded in capturing about one-half; the remainder escaped after fighting their way as well as they could. The arms found upon them, and in the place where they were captured, consisted of pistols, swords, daggers, and hand-grenades, the latter formed in a way to produce great destruction if thrown into a room.

This is the narrative I had from his Lordship. It fixed my attention, and I heartily congratulated him on his escape, and the escape of his colleagues, from so barbarous a plot. Our conversation was prolonged on some of its incidents as far as then brought to light, and on the supposed inducements to so bloody-minded a crime. His Lordship's conjectures were, that by murdering all the Ministers in a single night, the conspirators possibly imagined they could overturn the Government; but perhaps thought it more likely that by taking advantage of the first moments of consternation and tumult which would have followed the deed, they might have brought about scenes of temporary plunder and desolation in



London, and then escape loaded with booty, before the law could overtake them.

Before coming away after this unusual interview, his Lordship asked me if I had seen General Vives, the new Minister from Madrid to the United States, then in London on his route to Washington. I said that I had not. He replied that he had, and that he had not failed to say to him everything of a healing nature as between the United States and Spain, adding that he continued to look to an accommodation of all the differences with the same wishes as formerly.

February 27. Dined at the Travellers' Club. We had Mr. Bagot, Mr. Stratford Canning, Lord Dartmouth, Mr. Planta, Sir Edmund Antrobus, Mr. M'Kenzie, Mr. Chad, Count Ludolf, and others.

Conversation was various, the Cato-street conspiracy not being forgotten. All seem to believe in its verity, of which the circumstances already disclosed hardly leave a doubt; the men being found at the place pointed out by their accomplice—their being armed—their fierce resistance, until the military arrived—and then their flight—all pointing to a guilty purpose: to which effect was the conversation.

Talking with Count Ludolf, before we sat down, he mentioned the following anecdote of



Louis XVIII. When the news of the late assassination of the Duke of Berri was brought to him, he was in bed. He immediately rose, but, before he would repair to the scene, ordered one of his state dresses to be brought, which he put on, and afterwards waited for his barber, saying, that it was not proper for a King of France to appear otherwise before his subjects. He made it three-quarters of an hour before he could get off. The Duke was not quite dead when the King arrived, but every moment was expected to be his last!

The company rose from table at about ten, when most of us went to Lady Castlereagh's, where a party was beginning to assemble. Several of the Ministers were at it, the Duke of Wellington among the number. The conspiracy appeared to be the topic first spoken of by all, ladies as well as gentlemen; and the Ministers were congratulated by those who had not seen them before, on their escape.

March 3rd. Dined at Mr. Stratford Canning's, Great Cumberland-street. Of the guests were Mr. Bagot, Mr. Planta, Sir Edmund Antrobus, Mr. Inglis, Count Ludolf, and Mr. I. Adams Smith.

The clubs of London were spoken of, particularly some of the older ones, as White's, Brooks's, the Arthur, Boodle's, the Cocoa Tree,

and the Thatched House. White's, the Tory club, established in the time of Charles II., consisted of five hundred members, and there was said to be considerable difficulty in getting admission, as it was generally full. The place of head waiter at this club was said to be worth five hundred guineas a-year. Brooks's, the Whig club, was not so numerous; it consisted of four hundred members. Boodle's was chiefly for independent country gentlemen, and was stated to exceed both the others in comfort. Things were mentioned of some of these clubs, and others more modern in their establishment, showing the large moneyed resources which they have at command, and the luxurious accommodation thence seen in their arrangements, not merely, if even primarily, as regards the table, wines, furniture, and so on, but in libraries, maps, and other intellectual appliances.

Incidents of the Cato-street conspiracy came before us; and we had plenty of conversation on other subjects, intermingled with anecdote. One which our host told, I must venture upon repeating, though I shall not be able to give it with the point he did. It related to Lord Byron, and was only one of several which were told of him. His Lordship happened to be at Constantinople in 1810 or 1811, when some grand procession was on foot, he, Mr. Canning,

then being Secretary of the British Embassy in that capital. His Lordship inclining, rather perhaps as British peer than poet, to take part in the procession, applied to the Secretary of the Embassy to know where his place would be, with an intimation that he supposed his rank in England would not be overlooked. The Secretary naturally referred him to the Ambassador on a point that might not under all the circumstances be of very easy adjustment. The Ambassador was embarrassed between a real desire to oblige his Lordship, and the real difficulty of placing him where the noble poet himself might have imagined he ought to be. At length the day arrived, and Byron made his appearance with his broad cocked-hat on, and otherwise ceremoniously equipped. He stood waiting to have his place assigned him, not doubting but that he would move with the embassy, and perhaps conspicuously in it. This was found impossible, under official arrangements common to all the embassies, and his Lordship had to follow behind and make out as well as he could. When it was all over, the Ambassador, still anxious to smoothe matters, wrote him a courteous note, explanatory of his inability to procure him any other place; letting drop the idea also, that



his Lordship had given rank to whatever place he had. In reply, Byron sent a note of equal courtesy, saying that he had no complaint whatever to make, and withal assuring the Ambassador that he would ever be happy on such occasions to walk after him, "*his ox, his ass, or any thing that was his.*"

With such anecdotes was the evening enlivened. It had the charm of small dinner parties in England, where the very fixed seats, and *vis-à-vis* arrangement of a company, seem to give to this form of social assemblage chosen facilities for conversation; before the attractions of which, the ancient worship of the bottle has so happily disappeared.

March 7. Parliament was dissolved the last of February, not by the new King in person, but by commissioners, and the work of electing a House of Commons has already been actively commenced.

The assassination plot has continued to be a prevailing topic in all circles since its discovery and suppression. It has caused great excitement, it may almost be said some dismay, so foul was its nature, and so near did it appear to have advanced to success. Thanks were offered up at the Royal Chapel, St. James's, for the escape of those whose lives were threatened. Different uses are made of the event according



to the different opinions and feelings of the people in a country where the press speaks what it thinks, and no tongue is tied. The supporters of Government say that it was the offspring of a profligate state of morals among the lower orders, produced by publications emanating from what they called the "cheap press," which the late measures of Parliament aimed at putting down; and added, that it vindicated the necessity and wisdom of those measures. The opponents of Government, who vehemently resisted the measures, insisted in reply, that it was wrong to suppress, or even attempt to interfere with, such publications, since, if irritated feeling, however unjust might be deemed its causes, were not allowed vent in that way, it would find modes more dangerous; and that although a check might perhaps be given to the "cheap press," other presses in England would hold whatever language they pleased against the Government.

Even in a debate in the House of Lords three days after the event, Earl Grosvenor, a nobleman deeply interested by his great possessions in seeing the public tranquillity maintained, declared that there would not be wanting persons who would regard it as "the offspring of an erroneous system of coercion;" but afterwards, fearing that what had fallen from

him, might possibly be misconstrued into an intended mitigation of the crime, he explained away the force of his remark.

The measures of Parliament alluded to, were matured in the early part of the Session, and I made a report of them to my Government in January. They aimed at abridging, first, the circulation of cheap publications ; secondly, the freedom of public meetings ; and thirdly, they invested magistrates with certain powers to disarm the people to a limited extent, by clothing them with authority to search suspected places for arms. The measures were not designed to be permanent, and have since, I believe, been superseded in most of their provisions, or passed away altogether ; but as showing the state of the times, I will introduce from my report some of the forebodings that were uttered.

In the House of Peers, Lord Sidmouth, in defending the measures, said, that “ the constitution of England was in greater danger than it had been in any other time since the accession of the House of Brunswick to the Throne.”

Lord Grenville said, that “ nothing could equal the imminence of the peril which impended over the country.”

Earl Grey, in opposition, thus expressed himself : he declared that the measures “ took

away the protection allowed to free discussion, and aimed a blow at one of the most valuable rights of Englishmen, such as the most arbitrary Minister in the most arbitrary times never proposed to Parliament."

In the House of Commons Mr. Plunkett said, that "in the present state of the country the slightest cause might be sufficient to unsheathe the sword of civil discord."

And Mr. Tierney exclaimed, "I can see on the part of Government a determination to resort to nothing but force; they think of nothing else; they dream of nothing else; they will try no means of conciliation; they will make no attempt to pacify; force, force, nothing but force—that is their cry."

Thus much for Parliament. Turning to outdoor indications, I take the following as only a single specimen. On the 24th of January a very large meeting of Whigs was held at Norwich, to celebrate the birth-day of Charles James Fox, the great Whig statesman and Parliamentary leader, during and before the French Revolution. Amongst those present were the Duke of Norfolk, Premier Peer of England, the Duke of Sussex, and Mr. Coke. One of the avowed objects of the meeting was, to mix with the anniversary celebration a denunciation of the measures of Parliament.



Mr. Coke called them "*Bills of Blood*;" and the Duke of Sussex pronounced them "violent, unnecessary, and unconstitutional." He also invoked the opinions of the Duke of Kent, which he affirmed to be the same as his own. It is remarkable, that the Duke of Kent was then lying, unknown to his Royal brother, a corpse in another part of the kingdom.

It may, perhaps, be new to many of the present generation that such accumulated and portentous dangers existed in England in 1820. The opinions and assertions from sources so high, and which no doubt were sincerely uttered at the time, of the reality of their existence, may serve to show of how little account such forebodings generally are in that country, when a few years so generally put them to flight. The certainty of her advancing prosperity might almost, it would seem, be assumed, from assertions and predictions coming from herself to the contrary; since the absence of these might foreshadow that the active spirit of her people was abating, under enervating influences creeping upon her to stifle the boldness of speech inherent in her freedom, and always sure to break out in complaints of her condition, and accusations against her rulers. Similar complaints and accusations must ever have existence, to a



greater or less extent, in all free and great nations during their onward progress in resources and power. They are witnessed in the United States. Such onward progress cannot but be attended by clouds and vicissitudes, affording to the restless a large field, and even to the intelligent and patriotic, plausible ground, on divers occasions, for inveighing against the exercise of power and exaggerating adverse appearances.

Other nations are apt to be misled in regard to England by this accusing, and denouncing, and often despondent voice, ever ready to be uttered, to its very largest extent, in her Parliament, her press, and throughout the ranks of her people. When, three years ago, she sent her Ambassador, Lord Ashburton, to Washington, to negotiate respecting the North Eastern Boundary, it might be instructive to recall, even at this short interval, all that was said, within her own borders at that moment, of the Chartist excitement; of the O'Connell movement; of the human misery (too real) just then discovered in her collieries; of the disasters to English arms in Affghanistan, and of her approaching war with China. From these things, all co-existent at that precise epoch, and dwelt upon with intensity of emphasis throughout great classes in her own

dominions, many of our own people were inclined to infer the probability—almost certainty—that she would yield to us; yet, what was her actual course in that important negotiation, and what is her situation at present, in reference to those sources of difficulty and darkly-painted dangers? Where are they now? Some disappearing—others tending to an augmentation of her power! Making this incidental allusion to Lord Ashburton, I cannot avoid saying, what I believe Americans of all parties who knew him in Washington, would be ready to say; namely, that it would be difficult to determine which was most conspicuous in him, superior intelligence of mind with skill in affairs, or an uniformly discreet and most conciliating temper to co-operate with the powers of his understanding, in dealing with affairs. A stranger to the existing generation among us on his first arrival, he left our shores with universal public respect; although all did not like the Treaty which he, and the highly-gifted negotiator on the American side, concluded. It experienced a fate common to most treaties between ambitious and powerful nations—was inveighed against on both sides; thereby starting the inference of there being redeeming characteristics in it for both.

March 10. Dined with Sir Edmund Antrobus. We had the Earl of Hardwicke, the Earl of Caledon, Lord Binning, Sir George Warrender, Mr. Bagot, Mr. Stratford Canning, and others.

Cobbett's name was mentioned. Lord Hardwicke spoke of the esteem in which he was held in England many years ago, particularly by Mr. Windham, and told the following anecdote ; that Mr. Pitt once came up to Windham in the House of Commons, and said : " Windham, do you dine at home to day ? "—" I do," said Windham. " Then," said Pitt, " I will come and dine with you."—" Agreed," said Windham ; " but I fear you wont like your company, for Cobbett is to dine with me."—" Never mind that," said Pitt, " as I do not take him at breakfast," (meaning that he did not take his paper) " I shall have no objection to meeting him at dinner," and accordingly went. This was during the time when Cobbett's extraordinary pen was defending the Government.

March 11. Dined at Mr. Holland's, Russell Square—formerly mentioned as of the firm of Messieurs Barings. The company consisted of Dr. Holland ; Mr. Lenox, of New York ; Mr. Greeg ; Mr. Park ; and a few more.

Dr. Holland is known by his professional

eminence, and as having been travelling physician to the Princess of Wales, now Queen; and equally known by the accomplishments of his mind. His conversation marks his knowledge on literary and other subjects. We had, as a topic, the authorship of Junius, no new light appearing as yet to have been shed upon the question by the death of George III., as was once anticipated. Dr. Holland represented the public belief as at length, in a great degree, settled down on Sir Philip Francis. The best informed men in England who had attended to the subject, were beginning to think so; and, for himself, he considered the evidence as good as it could be, this side of positive proof.

Speaking of Mr. Walsh's book on the United States and England, his opinion was, that it would do good; and so thought others, he added, with whom he was in intercourse. It would spread much information, new to English readers, and at least show on how many points America was misunderstood; and both from misinformation, and want of information, erroneously judged in England. I said that I had read the work with great interest, under hopes of its spreading useful light before both countries.



## CHAPTER XV.

DINNER AT THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE'S.—INTERVIEW WITH EARL BATHURST, ON THE SUBJECT OF PRESENTS TO THE AMERICAN INDIANS.—FUNERAL OF MR. WEST, PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY.—DUELS BETWEEN NAVAL OFFICERS OF THE UNITED STATES, AND BRITISH OFFICERS AT GIBRALTAR.—INTERVIEW WITH THE COLONIAL SECRETARY OF STATE ON THIS SUBJECT.—DINNER AT THE MIDDLE TEMPLE WITH MR. GEORGE JOY.—DINNER AT LORD HARROWBY'S—AT LORD CASTLE-REAGH'S—AT MR. ROBINSON'S.

March 18. DINED at the Marquis of Lansdowne's, where we had Mr. De Neuman, of the Austrian Embassy, Mr. Lamb, of the Melbourne family, and several Members of Parliament.

Before going to dinner, Lord Lansdowne, referring to the late revolution in Spain, mentioned that the King had consented to accept the Constitution of 1812. Such, he said, were the accounts of the day.

We were soon at table, and the dinner moved on as all dinners do in that classic dining-room, where elegant hospitalities are so often dispensed.

The courses over, and servants out of the room, the conversation grew to be general; this marking the time when it usually becomes the most completely so at English dinners.

What subject should then come to be talked over, but the old Spanish Armada? How it got uppermost, or who introduced it, I scarcely know. It seemed to have slipped itself in by some chance, possibly from the Cato-street conspiracy having produced an allusion to Babington's conspiracy. Instead of crossing our path transiently, and disappearing, it got to be *the* topic, excluding others for its time. My curiosity was awakened to know what would be said. The Armada had been in my fancy since school-days; I had got passages of Elizabeth's speech to her troops by heart, as thousands of American boys probably also had; and had settled it, as part of a boy's creed, not only that the invincible Armada was beaten, but that, if the Spaniards had landed, they would have been beaten still worse on *terra firma*.

Not so thought the company—at least, not all; opinion was divided; in fact, the preponderance was decidedly with Spain. I took no part. I left all to the English gentlemen, sufficiently engaged in listening to the topic thus handled in the heart of Old England.

Those who sided with Spain, held that the salvation of England had turned upon the death of the Spanish Admiral, and Vice-Admiral, before the sailing of the Armada, which accounted for its disasters, the command getting into inexperienced hands; the soldiers on board would otherwise most probably have been landed; these, when reinforced by greater numbers from the Netherlands, all of them Spanish veterans, and joined by the Catholics of England, then secretly inflamed by the execution of Mary of Scots, and the whole led by the Duke of Parma, must have overwhelmed England; some unknown chance might have saved her—nothing short of it.

So they viewed the subject; so they seemed to settle it, as matter of conversation. I listened with a sceptic's ears; for what would the English armies have been doing all the while? what, the descendants of men who had fought at Cressy, Poitiers, Agincourt? Such thoughts passed in my mind. There was no need of uttering them, however; for our noble host dissented. He had left the conversation very much to his guests, content with occasionally throwing in a suggestion, as it was in progress; but, in the end, he gently and (according to my poor thoughts) effectually, upset the whole hypothesis by asking, Why England

could not have resisted the Spaniards then, as well as the people of the Low Countries ?

Such were some of the historical speculations of the evening. Others engaged us a little. Leland's History of Ireland was spoken of, and the portion of Irish history written by Spenser. Of the former, Lord Lansdowne expressed favourable opinions ; and the "Fairie Queen" vouched the merit of the latter.

The general election in progress being touched upon, something curious was mentioned ; viz., that at Preston, the place where Mr. Hunt, the reformer, was a candidate, universal suffrage prevailed, no freehold or other qualification of any kind, save that of sleeping six nights in the place, being required in a voter. How this came about, was not explained, or I did not catch the explanation. It was remarked upon as a curious anomaly in the English system of elections.

March 27. Had an interview with Earl Bathurst at the Colonial Office, Downing Street, on the subject of the presents given to our Indians by British Agents in Canada. His Lordship had on his table all the papers which I had put into the hands of Lord Castlereagh on this subject, and had been examining them.

He began the conversation by assurances of its being the desire of his Majesty's Govern-



ment to avoid all disturbance in that quarter to the general harmony subsisting between the two countries, and declared that it was neither under any instructions nor wishes emanating from the Government here, that the Indians living within our limits had resorted to Malden last year in the numbers stated. On the contrary, it was the desire of this Government that they should not repair thither, or to any of the British posts, but keep altogether within our territory. If such bands of travelling Indians were an annoyance to our people on the way, it might be supposed that their concentrated numbers, when they reached Malden, must prove more highly so to the British inhabitants of that place. That this, in fact, was the case. Still less, he observed, were the views of his Majesty's Government carried into effect, if, when they arrived at Malden, any incitements to hostility or ill-will of any kind against the United States were infused into their minds by the Colonial officers or agents. Upon this point he was willing to hope that there had been misconceptions in the accounts furnished to the Governor of the Michigan Territory, and by him transmitted to the Secretary of War. "But," continued his Lordship, "although we do not invite the Indians to that station and should be glad if

they would not frequent it, we are not at present prepared to go the length of a positive interdiction. We will write to our proper officers in that quarter and instruct them to use the strongest expostulations to put a stop to their visits ; but should the Indians nevertheless come, we cannot at this moment say that we should feel justified in withholding presents which we have been in the habit of distributing among all the Indians, our own as well as others, who during a long course of time have resorted to our posts. He here put into my hands a paper purporting to be a return, dated the 30th of August, 1819, to the Store-Keeper-General in London, from the Store-Keeper's Office in Quebec, containing a list of all the presents issued to Indians of every description from the Indian Department at Montreal, between the 25th of June and 24th of August, 1819, which covered the period during which it appeared, by the representations submitted, that the greatest number of our Indians had assembled at Malden. He pointed to the items respecting rifles, common guns, powder and shot : and inferred from the small quantities of each dealt out within that period, how inconsiderable must have been the share falling to our Indians, and that what they got could only have been for

the purpose of hunting. The return was an original, but he allowed me to bring it away to be copied.

I replied, that I would take care that my Government should be distinctly informed of all he said, remarking, however, that it would form a communication of a different nature from the one which I had hoped to make. The expectation of my Government undoubtedly was, that the intercourse would be wholly prohibited. It could not, I remarked, be necessary for me to say, that to give presents to the Indians when arriving from our limits, was, in effect, to invite them: the amount of gifts bestowed in the present instance was of slight moment; it was the influence thence created, and all collateral consequences thence resulting, that we desired to avoid.

His Lordship remarked, that it appeared that the Secretary of War had, by a letter of the 26th of last August, authorised Governor Cass to adopt measures for putting a stop to the intercourse in future; and added, that it would be highly agreeable to his Majesty's Government if they proved successful. The immediate safety of our inhabitants, I rejoined, dictated such measures; but it must be obvious at what expense to the United States they would have to be adopted, when



the Indians came to understand that we intended thus to cut them off from their presents; whereas the presents being withheld, there would be no motive to the intercourse. I therefore felt sure, that my Government would indulge the hope that the past policy of his Majesty's Government in this respect would be reconsidered, and abandoned. So the subject was left for that occasion.

March 30. Yesterday I attended the funeral of Mr. West. It proceeded from Somerset House to St. Paul's, where the interment took place, and was a public funeral by decree of the Royal Academy, of which the deceased was President. It was understood that the King's desire was the same, his Majesty being patron of the Institution. It was therefore conducted under the immediate superintendence of the Royal Academy. Between forty and fifty mourning-coaches, the horses of each having covers of black velvet over them, made part of the train. There were the usual ceremonies in other respects of a funeral of this description in London; such as marshal-men, cloak-men on horseback, mutes, and pages. The hearse was drawn by six horses covered with black velvet; and the mourning coaches being also entirely black as well as the horses, the harness, and all the feathers and plumes,



gave a solemn air to this pomp for the dead. The effect of the whole was heightened as the corpse was slowly borne into the immense Cathedral of St. Paul's, pronounced the most imposing edifice for size and grandeur reared in Europe by Protestant hands.

Mr. West being a native of my country, I was invited by the Council and officers of the Royal Academy to the funeral as a pall-bearer, and attended in that capacity. The other pall-bearers were, the Earl of Aberdeen, Sir William Scott, Sir George Beaumont, General Phipps, the Honourable Augustus Phipps, Sir Thomas Baring, and Sir Robert Wilson. When the body reached the choir, the bier was set down and an anthem sung. It was then conveyed to the vault door, attended by the pall-bearers and mourners, and interred next to that of Sir Joshua Reynolds, the funeral church-service being performed at the perforated brass-plate under the centre of the dome. The chief officiating clergyman was the Reverend Gerald Wellesley, brother of the Duke of Wellington. Altogether the scene was of much solemnity, and attested the honors paid by this distinguished Society to departed genius. Large and distinguished portions of the Society of London responded to the feeling which dictated them, as was

manifested by the private carriages belonging to the nobility and others seen in the procession, which exceeded the mourning-coaches in number.\*

Two of the mourning-coaches were appropriated to the pall-bearers. The one in which I was, conveyed also the Earl of Aberdeen, Sir William Scott, and General Phipps. The first, besides his eminence as a statesman, is distinguished by attainments in the arts; a testimonial of which is, his classical Treatise on Architecture, prefixed to an edition of Vitruvius, written during or after his travels in Greece. The slow pace of the procession until we arrived at the Cathedral was favorable to quiet conversation. The crowd along the Strand, and on passing Temple Bar, was very great. The appearance of the streets served to call up historical recollections; as when Charles II. passed along the same streets, thronged with multitudes, at the Restoration, and when the French King was led through them, as the captive of Edward III. Sir William Scott, who recalled these things, alluded also to the famous fracas which took place in this line of street a couple of

\* George III. allowed Mr. West a thousand pounds sterling a year, and had paid him forty thousand pounds for the encouragement of the fine arts.

centuries ago, between the retinue of the Spanish and French Ambassadors, on a struggle for precedence, when the traces of the carriages of the latter were cut by the servants of the former—an incident familiar to diplomatic literature. On the late revolution in Spain favorable to the Constitution of 1812 being spoken of, General Phipps remarked, that it had moved along with great tranquillity. Sir William Scott, pausing a moment, replied, "*as yet.*" The classical brevity of this great civilian is known.

I found that both he and Lord Aberdeen had been reading Mr. Walsh's book. They said that it contained much information. Sir William asked what pursuit Mr. Walsh was engaged in. I said, "None, that I know of, being, I believe, in easy circumstances." As the Cathedral came in full view, he remarked, that he understood that the edifices in England which made most impression upon Americans were the Gothic, as we had none in the United States—none, at least, that were ancient. I replied, that such was probably the case. He then remarked, that although we had no antiquities among us, we had a long race to run, which he hoped would prove fortunate. I said that we were proud of the



stock we came from; on which Lord Aberdeen threw in the courteous quotation, *matre pulchrá filia pulchrior*.

As we entered the Cathedral, the procession halting a moment, Sir William, next to whom I stood, cast his eye around, and in a low voice cited the celebrated inscription which appears in it to Sir Christopher Wren, "Si queris monumentum, circumspice." He added, that Sir Christopher was one of their greatest men, a great mathematician as well as architect, besides having various other merit.

March 31. In the course of a communication to the Secretary of State of this date, I mention two recent trials-at-law, which, from their connexion with public events and public feeling, seemed to claim a passing notice. One was that of Mr. Henry Hunt, a reformer, and popular leader of the day. He had acted as chairman of a great public meeting held near Manchester last August, to disperse which the military were called out in aid of the civil authority, and lives lost. He was tried at York, under charges of a riot and conspiracy, and for assembling an unlawful multitude with a view to stir up hatred and contempt against the Constitution and Government. The trial lasted nine days, was said to have been impar-



tial, and ended in his conviction on the third charge ; the jury acquitting him of the rest.

The other trial was that of Sir Francis Burdett, also a popular leader of high personal standing, a Member of Parliament, and an ancient Baronet of large estate. Being at his seat in Leicestershire, in August, when the news of what had happened at the Manchester meeting reached him, he addressed a letter to the electors of Westminster, whose representative he was in the House of Commons, condemning, in sharp and inflammatory terms, the conduct of the Government. It was on some parts of this letter that the prosecution was founded ; which took the shape of an *ex officio* information against him for a libel tending to bring the Government into contempt, and excite sedition. The trial was held at Leicester, and resulted in his conviction. Sir Francis conducted his own defence with his usual ability and spirit. Both defendants were punished by the Court by fine and imprisonment.

April 13. Had an interview with Lord Bathurst at the Colonial Office. It related to fresh disputes between officers of our squadron in the Mediterranean, and British officers of the garrison at Gibraltar.

His Lordship said, that he had requested me to call for the purpose of some conversation on this subject, and especially to inform me that the order which Governor Don, the British Commander-in-Chief at the garrison, had issued, forbidding the squadron to enter the port in consequence of these disputes, had not been ratified by his Majesty's Government — but, on the contrary, would be revoked. But he added, that being sincerely anxious for the restoration of harmony between our respective officers, he thought that the interdict had perhaps better not in prudence be recalled, until after the lapse of some little interval—a month or two, he intimated—that feeling on each side might have time to cool. He handed me the correspondence between Governor Don and Captain Brown, of our sloop the Peacock, in March, which treats of the disputes, and particularly of the duel between Lieutenant Downing, of the frigate *Guerrière*, and Lieutenant Smith of the garrison. His Lordship desired to be understood as having no complaints to allege on behalf of his Government, and expressed regret that Governor Don, who had acted from the best motives, had not been furnished with a copy of the proceedings of the Court-Martial by which Mr. Downing had been acquitted. He concluded by referring to

the letter addressed by the Navy Department to Commodore Stewart, by order of the President, in September last (the same which I read to Lord Castlereagh), respecting the former duels; a copy of which had also reached this Government through Governor Don. His Lordship said, that the sentiments of the President, so appropriate and conciliatory, had made upon his Majesty the impression they were justly calculated to produce, and requested that I would convey this assurance to my Government.

April 15. Dined at the Middle Temple with Mr. George Joy, formerly of Boston. It was a bachelor's dinner. The room in which we dined claimed the double distinction of having been the one in which Rogers wrote the "Pleasures of Memory," and which the late Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough occupied when at the bar.

General Sir George Walker, Mr. S. Williams of Boston, and Mr. J. Adams Smith, the Secretary of my Legation, were our party. The first had served in the wars of the Peninsula, under the Duke of Wellington, and was at the storming of Badajos in 1812. His brigade was of the fifth division and nine hundred strong; and of this number, five hundred fell. The other four hundred mounted the bastion



from the river-side by ladders, and were among the successful. These were some particulars which he mentioned of that fearful night—for it was a night assault. The whole loss to the British Army he stated at about five thousand, including three hundred officers. Sir George himself received a musket-ball in his body and five bayonet wounds. His shattered frame sufficiently bespoke how he had suffered; but he seemed to have lost none of the animation of his mind.

Until this occasion, I was under an impression that the Duke of Wellington never was wounded; but Sir George Walker said, that not long after the storming of Badajos, he was struck by a random musket-ball in the side, in an affair with the French on the borders of France. It was merely a slight wound, and dressed on the spot. The Duke on receiving it exclaimed, "Hit at last!" and seemed much pleased.

April 18. Dined at Lord Harrowby's, who entertained the Diplomatic Corps. If Mr. Joy's dining-room was immortalized by the "Pleasures of Memory," his Lordship's dining-room came near to gaining a very different kind of immortality,—it being the one in which the Cabinet were to have dined with him on the evening that Thistlewood had fixed



upon for murdering them all. This was not overlooked in our conversation ; but we had other and more cheerful topics. Among the varieties of wine, we had hock of the vintage of 1648, of which it was remarked by our accomplished host, that King Charles might have drunk it.

April 20. Dined at Lord Castlereagh's. We had the Diplomatic Corps, and several foreigners of distinction.

His Lordship informed me that he had mentioned to Count Leiven, the Russian Ambassador, the desire of our two countries to ask the friendly umpirage of his Sovereign respecting the contested point between us under the Treaty of Ghent ; and that the Count had, within a few days, shown him a dispatch from Count Nesselrode, by which it appeared that the Emperor would probably not object to lending himself to the joint wish of the two nations. His Lordship added, that Mr. Bagot, who is expected to set out on his embassy in about a month, would be instructed to make the proper application to the Emperor on the part of Great Britain, as soon as the Minister of the United States at St. Petersburg was prepared to unite in it. I replied, that Mr. Campbell had already been, as I believed, instructed to do so ; on which his Lordship re-

marked, that he was not aware of any other steps necessary for either party to take at present.

The Minister from \* \* \* \* \* told me that the Ottoman Porte had recently been supplying Algiers with additional munitions of war, and avows a determination to protect the Barbary States; and that this determination would restrain the European Alliance from any measures of immediate coercion against those states. I asked, Why *restrain*? He answered that, The Sovereigns probably had it in mind to hold the Porte ultimately responsible for such a line of policy.

April 22. Dined at Mr. Robinson's, Somerset Place. Besides Mr. Robinson, we had, of the Cabinet, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Vansittart; the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Mr. C. Bathurst; and Lord Mulgrave; also, Sir William Grant, late Master of the Rolls; Mr. Planta; Mr. Hobhouse, of the Home Department; Mr. Angerstein; and other gentlemen; and the presence of Lady Sarah Robinson, and other ladies, added to the attractions of the table.

In the course of the evening, conversation turned on the Cato-street conspiracy, the trial of the offenders being in progress at the Old Bailey, and two of them, Thistlewood and

Ings, having been convicted of high treason. What follows was mentioned in connexion with this plot : viz., that, as soon as the precise knowledge of it came to the ears of the Cabinet through the disclosures made to Lord Harrowby in the Park, the Members met to determine upon their course. Some were for going to the dinner at Lord Harrowby's in the face of it all. They reasoned thus : that it seemed so desperate, that it would not be believed unless the conspirators actually came to Lord Harrowby's house ; that they therefore ought to be allowed to do so, if such were really their intention ; otherwise, the public might have room to say that the Ministers had been over credulous, and disposed to make the plot appear so very horrible, only to excite indignation, and gain strength by suppressing it ; and as to their personal safety, *that* might be secured by arming themselves, in addition to stationing proper guards in and near the house ; and that the latter also would be the most certain way of capturing the whole of the conspirators, so that none might escape.

Those who took a different view of the subject said, that his Majesty's Ministers being in possession of evidence to satisfy reasonable men that a guilty purpose existed, they ought



not to wait for the consummation of the crime, but arrest it in its progress; that public justice, and even humanity itself dictated this course, as life might be endangered, no matter what precautions were taken beforehand, if the conspirators were allowed to go on to the last step; that Ministers, conscious of the rectitude of their intentions, and not acting hastily, but on full deliberation and advice, must not regard public clamor, but consign the whole transaction to the judicial tribunals of the country without any delay that could be avoided, and abide the issue.

This is the course which it is known was adopted. It was further mentioned that *Lord Castlereagh* was for going to the dinner in the face of it all at the hour invited, as if nothing had happened, and letting each gentleman arm himself if he thought proper; whilst the Duke of Wellington counselled to the course that was taken. The civilian and warrior would here seem to have changed places! We had delicious wines to add to the zest of all the conversation.

Mr. Robinson's residence is in one of the buildings within the quadrangle of Somerset House. When we had gone up to coffee, I approached, with some of the company, one of the back windows of the drawing-room which



overlooks the Thames, where you here see three of the great bridges: Waterloo, Blackfriars, and Westminster. All were illuminated, which makes this city-view very striking by night, to those who see it for the first time.

## CHAPTER XVI.

VISIT FROM MR. WILBERFORCE. — THE SLAVE TRADE. — PIRACY. — IMPRESSMENT. — CATO-STREET CONSPIRACY — FIVE OF THE CONSPIRATORS CONVICTED AND EXECUTED. — DROITS OF THE CROWN. — DINNER AT LORD MELVILLE'S. — DEATH OF COMMODORE DECATOR. — VISIT TO THE ROYAL ARSENAL AT WOOLWICH. — ARRIVAL OF THE QUEEN, LATE PRINCESS OF WALES, AT DOVER. — SPECIAL AUDIENCE OF THE KING. — DINNER AT PRINCE LEOPOLD'S. — DINNER AT LORD CASTLEREAGH'S. — UNUSUAL INCIDENTS AT IT. — THE KING'S LEVEE. — CONVERSATION WITH MR. CANNING ON THE PUBLIC SPEAKING IN THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT. — DINNER AT MR. CANNING'S.

April 24. To-day I had a visit from Mr. Wilberforce. He touched upon several subjects,—amongst them, Mr. Walsh's book. I found that he did not like the parts about slavery, and so expressed himself, in regret rather than censure. I remarked, that I thought allowances were to be made for us on that subject, considering the history of it from the day we were part of the British empire. He asked where Mr. Walsh received his education. I told him in the United

States. He admitted that he was a man of abilities.

I asked him if there was no philanthropist in England disposed, at this season of general peace, to exert himself for the abolition of privateering, as he had done to put down the slave-trade. He replied, that civilization and Christianity seemed equally to call for it. I said, "Let England, as the greatest maritime power, set the example, and other nations will follow."

I next asked, "And is there no man among you willing to devote himself to another labor of humanity, the abolition of impressment?" He joined in lamenting the evils to which it led, and said that he had hoped Sir Thomas Ackland would take it up in the House of Commons. I said, that if an end were put to it in England, as a home measure, an immense good would follow internationally, by the extinction of a cause of dissension, the most formidable that could exist between our two countries. He rejoined, that it was deeply important under that view.

After Mr. Wilberforce left me, I called on Sir Thomas Lawrence, (who had recently returned from the Continent,) for the purpose of obtaining information respecting the portrait of Mr. West. He remarked, that the death of

Mr. West would not rob the picture of any advantage, the likeness having been complete, as far as he could render it so, before he died. He further said, that the last injunction he had received from Mr. West before setting out upon his tour was, "on no account to touch the head again,"—"the venerable President being pleased to add," continued Sir Thomas, that it was "already perfect."

Should these last lines ever chance to meet the eye of any Member of the Academy of Fine Arts in New York, whose walls, I suppose, still to be graced with this portrait of so distinguished a native son of America, it may not be unwelcome to him thus to know what his own opinion of it was, as thus expressed to Sir Thomas Lawrence before he died.

April 28. Parliament was opened yesterday by the King in person. I attended under the usual notice to the Foreign Ministers from the Master of Ceremonies. The Speech was general in its terms; so much so, that the Address to the Throne in reply to it passed both Houses without opposition. The New House of Commons is considered to be as favorable to the Ministry as the last, if not more so.

April 29. In my dispatch to the Secretary of State I mention, as marking the end of the Cato-Street conspiracy, that five of the con-



spirators, including Thistlewood, the ring-leader, had been convicted of high treason; that the remainder, six in number, had pleaded guilty; and that the five convicted by the jury had confessed, after conviction, that it was their intention to murder the Ministers. Their plan, it seems, was, that if they had got to the house of Lord Harrowby, some one of their number was to knock at the door with a note in his hand, under pretence of desiring it to be delivered to Lord Harrowby, doing this in a manner to excite no suspicion in case of any one accidentally passing along the pavement. The rest of the band, from twenty to thirty in number, were to be close at hand, but subdivided into squads the better to be out of view, which the night would have favored. The servant opening the door, was to have been instantly knocked down by this leader who carried the feigned note; and the opening of the door was to be the signal for the whole band to rush forward, enter the house, make for the dining-room, and had they found the Ministers there, kill the whole, if possible, and as fast as possible, not sparing one, or even the servants who might have attempted to obstruct their passage onward. They had counted on the presence of from twelve to fifteen Members of the Cabinet at the dinner-

table. Thistlewood had once been an officer in the Militia, and afterwards, for a short time, in the line of the British Army in the West Indies, and was a daring, desperate man.

May 1. Thistlewood and four of the conspirators are hung.

May 7. Write to Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury. Inform him that I will, in future, send, for the library of his department, all the documents published by both Houses of Parliament, every Session, according to his request. I call his attention to the debate in the House of Commons on the droits of the Crown, pointing out the speech of Sir James Macintosh from the justice it renders to the United States, at the breaking out of the war of 1812, in not seizing the property of the co-belligerent found within their jurisdiction; but, on the contrary, allowing six months after the declaration of war for all British merchant-ships to get off, and afterwards even enlarging that period; which Sir James characterised as conforming to the beneficent old common-law principle of Magna Charta, which England, he said, had departed from.

May 16. Dined at Lord Melville's, the First Lord of the Admiralty. Mr. Rose, British Minister at Berlin, and Mrs. Rose—the Russian

Ambassador and Countess Leiven—Lord and Lady Binning—Lady Castlereagh, the Ambassador from the Netherlands, Mr. Planta, Mr. Bagot and others—made the company. Among the table ornaments, was a very beautiful representation of Neptune, in alabaster, holding in his hand the trident of the ocean.

Topics during the dinner and evening were such as the new reign suggested. One other, a foreign topic, shared attention—the death of Commodore Decatur; the account of whose fall in a duel with Commodore Barron, near Washington, the latter being severely wounded, had just become known in London. To Mr. Bagot, who sat next to me, I spoke of him, lamenting in his death the loss of a personal friend, and old schoolfellow, besides his loss to his country. It was known to me that Mr. Bagot had made his acquaintance in Washington, as well as that his accomplished wife was known to Mrs. Bagot. Mr. Bagot spoke of him in the handsomest terms, not for my ear alone, but for that of the company also. His closing words were, “All that he said or did, was ever carried off with a soldierly grace.” And let that old schoolmate and friend pay him the passing tribute of adding to words so true, that a lofty patriotism ever animated all his thoughts and deeds; that he was a



shining example to others in a profession which he desired to lift up to the highest pitch, not only by his valor and naval accomplishments, but by the noble ambition of intellectual improvement in other fields, which he seemed to cherish but the more with advancing years; so that, had he lived longer, his country might have beheld in him a fame even more full-orbed than that which his untimely death cut short.

May 17th. Attended the King's Levee, though not yet having received my new letters of credence. One of my objects was to see the Duke of Wellington, and endeavour to obtain some information respecting the course of education pursued with the military cadets in England, as far as the system was in print or its rules otherwise made public. I saw the Duke, who said he was not sure that there was much in print on the subject, but promised me all that was to be had, saying that there were no secrets about it.

May 26th. Visited the Royal Arsenal and other military establishments at Woolwich. Taking letters from the Duke of Wellington to Lieutenant-General Ramsay, and to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Royal Military Academy, I saw everything; and to far more advantage than I could undertake to describe



what I saw. The cannon foundry—the places for smiths' work, carpenters' work, and for making cartridges, bomb-shells, grenades, and shot—the various machinery—the barracks, and places for manufacturing Congreve rockets—the boring-houses and model-houses,—any single one of these items, not to mention others, might overtask my powers of minute description. There seemed to be stores and military supplies of every description for all the exigencies of war, even to sand-bags, fascines and scaling-ladders, and whether for land or sea-service, accumulated in vast quantities. The cannon in depôt amounted to from twenty-five to thirty thousand pieces. The whole number, it was said, would cover fourteen acres. It is known that not only did the British army draw its supplies from this great establishment during the late European wars, but that the troops of the Continental powers were largely supplied also from its almost inexhaustible stores. It was stated that often, whilst hostilities were going on, a million of ball-cartridges for muskets were among the weekly issues from the proper workshop.

The party with me consisted of Mr. M'Kensie and other gentlemen. Rockets were let off, about a dozen in number, under the direction of Sir William Congreve, that we might

see the effect of horizontal firing with them. Those designed to be thrown into towns, or otherwise, to produce a conflagration, were in part composed of combustibles prepared by Dr. M'Culloch, the chemist of the establishment, which are scarcely to be extinguished by water, resembling in this respect the Greek fire. One was ignited for our inspection, upon which water was thrown without putting out the flame. Some of the artillery were exercised daily in firing at a target with ball-cartridge. The artillery, now reduced to seven or eight thousand, had amounted to thirty thousand during the war. The wood-work for the carriages and other apparatus was of oak, ash, or elm. We visited the range of stables where the artillery-horses were kept. They were fine-looking animals, and we were told cost the Government about fifty pounds sterling a-piece.

The barracks for the troops were extensive, and seemed highly complete and comfortable. The dining-room of the officers with two drawing-rooms adjoining, were spacious and well furnished. Another part of the building has the advantage of an extensive library and a reading-room. At a little distance from the principal barracks, stands a row of small brick houses, all white, looking very neat.

These were built for such of the common soldiers as were married ; and we learned that the number of schoolmistresses attached to the whole British army for instructing children born in the families of the common soldiers, was very great.

In the model-room we saw various weapons of different ages and countries. They were chiefly brought from Paris after the conquest of 1814, and had been accumulated in that capital from all parts of the world, as French trophies. Enough there was to fix the eye of the warrior, and raise reflections in the moralist. We saw the armour of the Chevalier Bayard, and the identical mask worn by the "Man in the Iron Mask." The latter was wholly closed up in the face, except a small aperture, made to open and shut, through which food was introduced. In the same room was a plan, upon a large scale, of Quebec.

Repairing to the Military Academy, we were shown that part of the system. We saw plans and drawings of all kinds of fortifications, and all manner of instruments necessary for carrying on a military education. Models of Gibraltar and Bergen-op-Zoom were in view, executed in wood like that of Quebec. The cadets were at their studies, sitting at forms in



three rows; their uniform, blue, faced with red. Their hours of study in presence of a professor were from nine until twelve in the forenoon, and from three until five in the afternoon. A lieutenant-governor, an inspector, and four professors, were the officers of the Institution. The cadets receive from Government two shillings and sixpence sterling a day, which supplies them with clothes and pocket-money, and in all other respects are found by the Institution. The situation is in much request, and the Institution contained about one hundred and fifty cadets. Besides their own exercises in the field, they have the advantage, from being close to the Royal Artillerists at the Barracks, of witnessing all the evolutions of the latter. The Military Academy at Sandhurst, designed chiefly for the sons of British officers who fell in battle, or otherwise perished in the service, contained, we were informed, about three hundred cadets, and fifteen or twenty teachers. The branches taught at each were much the same, and consisted mainly of ancient and modern history, modern languages, fortification, gunnery, drawing, and mathematics.

We finished the visit by partaking of a collation at the quarters of Colonel Bingham, whose obliging attentions we all experienced.



June 6. Went to the House of Lords under a notice received from Sir Robert Chester, to witness the ceremony of the King giving his assent to some bills. It seems that, by ancient usage, the Sovereign gives his assent, in person, to the first bill which Parliament passes after the commencement of a new reign. On this occasion, it was the bill establishing the Civil List to which he assented; and some others being ready, he assented to them also. In the Ambassador's box we had, besides the Corps proper, Count Rostopchin, Governor of Moscow when it was burnt during the invasion of Napoleon in 1812. He came with the Russian Ambassador; and we had also Prince Lichenstein, who came with the Austrian Ambassador.

There was a thinner attendance than usual of Members of the Cabinet in the House of Lords, and about the Throne. This was noticed in our box; and there seemed something of coldness in the whole ceremony; for which, perhaps, the Queen's arrival at Dover yesterday served to account.

June 14. Had a special audience of the King to deliver my new credentials. I had written to Lord Castlereagh to ask it, and his answer was fixed for to-day, of which I informed the Master of Ceremonies. The latter conducted me to the door of the audience-room in the

Palace. The King was attended by Lord Bathurst. I delivered the President's autograph letter to his Majesty, using much the same language as when delivering my credentials to him as Prince Regent, mentioned in Chapter VIII., and was received in the same way.

The new Spanish Ambassador, the Duke de Frias, also had his audience of reception, as successor to the Duke of San Carlos, re-called since the change of Government in Spain.

In the evening, I dined at Prince Leopold's, Marlborough House, who entertained a portion of the Diplomatic Corps and other guests; amongst them, the Bishop of Salisbury, who superintended the education of the late Princess Charlotte. Our distinguished host dispensed his attentions cordially to his company. The appointments of the table were beautiful; the plate and other ornaments having been selected for the Heiress Presumptive to the Throne on the occasion of her marriage to Prince Leopold.

June 15. Attended the Drawing Room, and at seven in the evening dined at Lord Castle-reagh's. We had all the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, with other guests, Lord Strangford of the number, whose literary accomplishments make him so well known.

A very few minutes after the last course,

Lord Castlereagh, looking to his chief guest for acquiescence, made the signal for rising, and the company all went into the drawing-rooms. So early a move was unusual; it seemed to cut short, unexpectedly, the time generally given to conversation at English dinners after the dinner ends. It was soon observed that his Lordship had left the drawing-rooms. This was still more unusual; and now it came to be whispered, that an extraordinary cause had produced this unusual scene. It was whispered by one and another of the corps that his Lordship had retired into one of his own apartments to meet the Duke of Wellington as his colleague in the Administration, and also Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman as counsel for the Queen in the disputes pending between the King and Queen.

The Queen's arrival in England was unexpected to the King and his Ministers, and well understood to have been against the strong wishes of both. The event produced much excitement, and suspended, in a great degree, the interest of other political topics. As soon as she landed, the Ministers took their measures for instituting proceedings against her in Parliament on the ground of imputed misbehaviour since she was last abroad. She denied the imputations and called for proof. The proceed-



ings against her, which originated in a message from the King to both Houses, had actually commenced, but were arrested in the House of Commons by a portion of the Members, purporting to be common friends of both King and Queen, who desired that a subject so unfitted for public discussion should, if possible, be compromised. The dinner at Lord Castle-reagh's was during this state of things, which explains the incidents at its close, the disputes having pressed with anxiety on the King's Ministers. That his Lordship did separate himself from his guests for the purpose of holding a conference in another part of his own house, in which the Duke of Wellington joined him, as representing the King, with Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman as representing the Queen, was known from the formal protocol afterwards published of what took place on that very evening. It was the first of the conferences held with a view to a compromise between the Royal disputants.

June 27. I learn from a good source, that the dissolution of the late Government at Buenos Ayres has been attended with circumstances so important as to induce Sir Thomas Hardy, the British naval officer in command in that quarter, to dispatch one of the vessels of



his squadron to England with a special account of them.

June 28. Attend the Levee at Carlton Palace. Converse with several of the Diplomatic Corps on the state of things between the King and Queen. All are full of the topic. \* \* \* \* \* says, that the sensibilities of the King are intense and vehement; nothing can ever reconcile him. He also says, that, of the Royal Dukes, \* \* \* \* and \* \* \* \* and one other, go with the King; not so certain as to the rest. And he adds, that the Ministers, almost unanimously, are now satisfied that there are grounds to go upon against the Queen. None of the corps dare touch the subject—at least, in the present stage of it—with any of the Cabinet; so I suppose, it being none of their concern; but things leak out, for in England everything soon becomes public.

I converse with Mr. Canning on the speaking in the House of Commons. I mention to him Sir James Mackintosh's remark; he accedes to it; says it is true as a general rule, that their speaking must take *conversation* as its basis, rather than anything studied, or stately. The House was a business-doing body, and the speaking must conform to its character; it was jealous of ornament in debate, which, if it came at all, must come as without

consciousness. There must be method also; but this should be felt in the effect, rather than seen in the manner; no formal divisions, set exordiums or perorations, as the old rhetoricians taught, would do. First, and last, and everywhere, you must aim at reasoning; and if you could be eloquent, you might at any time, but not at an appointed time. To this effect he expressed himself, though I do injustice to his language. Foremost as a speaker in the House of Commons for his day, perhaps in its most brilliant sphere of oratory, I listened with interest whilst such a master casually alluded to its rules.

I spoke of the House of Lords; remarking, that in that body, indeed, I had anticipated a style of speaking somewhat more like conversation, not only from its fewer numbers, but component materials; but that, to my observation, as yet its oratory seemed rather elaborate and ambitious, with much that would seem to indicate painstaking, in a degree beyond that which I had witnessed in the House of Commons. He acquiesced; but added, that some of its chief speakers had been formed in the House of Commons. I replied, that perhaps that might account for what had also struck me so far, in listening to the debates of each House—namely, that the

average speaking among the Peers was best. He agreed to it, as a present fact; remarking, that another reason perhaps was, that the House of Peers, for its numbers, was better stocked with men thoroughly educated.

The day was hot—excessively so for England. The King seemed to suffer; he remarked upon the heat to me and others. It is possible that other heat may have aggravated, in him, that of the weather. Before he came into the entrée-rooms from his closet, \* \* \* \* \*, of the Diplomatic Corps, taking me gently by the arm, led me a few steps with him, which brought us into the recess of a window. “Look,” said he. I looked, and saw nothing but the velvet lawn, shaded by trees, in the Palace gardens. “Look again,” said he. I did, and still my eye took in only another part of the same scene. “*Try once more,*” said he, cautiously raising a finger in the right direction. \* \* \* \* \* had a vein of drollery in him. I now, for the first time, beheld a peacock displaying his plumage. At one moment he was in full pride, and displayed it gloriously; at another, he would halt, letting it droop, as if dejected. In his wake, a smaller bird, of glossy feathers (female as he declared), followed, teasing and annoying the peacock at every turn. “Of what does that remind



you?" said \* \* \* \* \*. "Of nothing," said I, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*," for I threw the King's motto at him; and then added, that I was a republican, *he* a monarchist; and that if he dreamt of unholy comparisons where royalty was concerned, I would certainly tell upon him, that it might be reported to his Court! He quietly drew off from me, smiling, and I afterwards saw him slyly take another member of the Corps to the same spot, to show him the same sight.

July 10. Dined at Mr. Canning's, Gloucester Lodge. We had Sir William Scott; Sir William Grant; Mr. Wilmot, of the House of Commons; Mr. Planta; Mr. Backhouse; Mr. Stratford Canning; Mr. Smith, of the House of Commons; Mr. Frere, British Minister in Spain during the campaign of Sir John Moore; and the Marquis of Tichfield.

The conversation was in part literary. Mr. Canning, Mr. Frere, Sir William Scott, and Sir William Grant, were all members of the Literary Club, so well known in Johnson's time, and still kept up. Its number is limited to forty, and its meetings are held at the Thatched House. Sir William Scott was intimate with Johnson and one of his executors.

The authorship of Junius became a topic, the death of George III. having occasionally



revived it. Most of the company held the belief, or inclined to it, that Sir Philip Francis was the man. I observed that Sir William Scott did not join in this opinion, but expressed no open dissent. It seemed with him, *Curia advisare vult*. He remarked, that it was no new thing in English literature for the author of a celebrated work to remain unknown; this was still the case with the book entitled "The Whole Duty of Man," written in the time of Charles I.

Mr. Canning related an anecdote pertinent to the topic, derived from the present King when Prince of Wales. It was to the following effect:—the late King was in the habit of going to the Theatre once a week at the time Junius's Letters were appearing, and had a page in his service of the name of Ramus. This page always brought the play-bill in to the King, at tea time, on the evenings when he went. On the evening before Sir Philip Francis sailed for India, Ramus handed to the King, at the same time when delivering the play-bill, a note from Garrick to Ramus, in which the former stated that there would be no more letters from Junius. This was found to be the very night on which Junius addressed his laconic note to Garrick, threatening him with vengeance. Sir Philip did embark for India the next morning, and,

in point of fact, the letters ceased to appear from that day. The anecdote added, that there lived with Sir Philip at the time, a relation of Ramus's, who sailed in the morning with him. The whole narrative excited much attention, and was new to most of the company. The first impression it made was, not only that it went far towards showing, by proof almost direct, that Sir Philip Francis was the author, but that Garrick must have been in the secret.

The style of the letters was criticised. Mr. Canning did not think very highly of it; nor did Sir William Scott, though not going as far in dispraise as Mr. Canning. Sir William Grant also said, that Fox never admired the style.

Mr. Canning asked me if Mr. Walsh would not be satisfied with what the Edinburgh Review had said of his work. Sir William Scott said, that he thought he ought to be. Sir William admitted that he had read it, and that it was a book that ought to be read. He expressed no further opinion. Mr. Canning said that he had looked into it, without yet having been able to go through it as he wished. Sir William Grant mentioned that he was at Quebec when it was attacked by our troops under Montgomery, in '75. He remarked that Montgomery had fallen gallantly, but added

that the attack was very desperate. I said that his name was still dear to us; it lived in our patriotic celebrations.

We sat at table until past eleven, and I only give scraps of the conversation. It flowed tranquilly on, with unstudied point and ease, the whole time, from a company than which it would perhaps not have been easy to assemble in England one of the same size, comprising more of intellectual power, in union with personal accomplishments.

July 12. Went with my family last night to see the "Comedy of Errors." We were in the private box of Mr. Coutts. Jones and Comer performed the two Antipholis, and Liston and Farren the two Dromios. Miss Stevens gave us the echo song.\*

\* Hunting Chorus in Der Freischutz.

## CHAPTER XVII.

INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH ON THE WEST-INDIA TRADE, AND OTHER SUBJECTS.—UMPIRAGE OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA UNDER THE DISPUTED ARTICLE OF THE TREATY OF GHENT.—DINNER AT THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S; AT LORD CASTLEREAGH'S; AT MR. PLANTA'S; AT THE DUKE OF SUSSEX'S.—THE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE KING AND QUEEN.—REVOLUTION IN SPAIN.—COURSE OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN RELATION TO IT.

July 13. HAD an interview with Lord Castlereagh at his house, St. James's Street. It was for the purpose of expressing to him the sentiments of my Government in regard to the commercial intercourse between the United States and the British West Indies and North American Colonies. I said, that after the unfortunately abortive discussions between the two countries on this subject, it might seem almost superfluous to recur to it again; but that I had the instructions of my Government to do so. I was merely told to reiterate assurances; and that the supplementary Act of Congress, passed on the 15th of May, with a view to render more complete the prohibitions



which the United States had found it necessary to impose on this intercourse, had been adopted in no unfriendly spirit, but solely in the hope of securing to their citizens that equal share of the shipping employed in the trade which substantial reciprocity was thought to call for; and that whenever a disposition was felt by his Majesty's Government to allow this object to be secured to us by a commercial arrangement between the two countries, it would be met by the President with an earnest wish to substitute a system of the most liberal intercourse, in place of the interdictions by statute, to which we had finally, though with reluctance, had recourse.

His Lordship replied, that no unfriendly policy, on our part, was inferred by his Majesty's Government from the measure in question; far from it. It was considered simply as a commercial regulation of our own, adopted to meet theirs; and in no wise incompatible with the relations of harmony subsisting between the two nations, which, he hoped, might long continue.

I now introduced the subject of the design imputed to France, to erect a Throne at Buenos Ayres, and place a Prince of the Bourbon line upon it. I said that I had no information from my Government on this subject; but that

if the accounts were well founded, I knew how my Government and country would deplore such a course on the part of France. His Lordship replied, that it was a total surprise upon England; that the Cabinet had heard nothing of it until very recently, and were still willing to hope that it might not prove true to the extent stated, otherwise it showed a spirit of intrigue, which he had hoped had gone out of fashion among nations. It was the more strange in the eyes of England, as it had been going on, if true, at the very time when the Foreign Enlistment Bill was brought before Parliament. I remarked upon the difference between the course of the United States and France; for that whilst we had expressly disclaimed all intention of accepting any special advantages over other nations, from the new South American communities, it appeared, if the accounts were true, that France was for appropriating every advantage to herself. He admitted that the disclosures wore that appearance, but again expressed the hope that they might not prove well founded.

I mentioned to his Lordship, before coming away, the arrival of Mr. Middleton in London, on his way to St. Petersburg as successor to Mr. Campbell, our present Minister at that Court, who was about to retire from the mis-

sion at his own request; and asked leave to introduce him to his Lordship, at any time when convenient; on which he named the day following.

July 14. Call on Lord Castlereagh with Mr. Middleton. After the introduction, Mr. Middleton mentioned his desire to arrange, with the aid of my instrumentality, should any correspondence or other official acts with his Majesty's Government be required (he not being accredited to the English Court), such preliminary points respecting the umpirage at St. Petersburg on the slave question under the Treaty of Ghent, as might be necessary to bring it before the Emperor for his decision. His Lordship expressed his readiness to forward whatever objects Mr. Middleton had in view, that could be effected here; and it need scarcely be added, that my co-operation, whenever it could in any way be rendered useful, was as fully tendered.

July 15. Dined at the Duke of Wellington's. The Right Hon. W. W. Pole, of the Cabinet, and Mrs. Pole; Lady Ann Cullen Smith; Colonel Percy; Mr. and Mrs. Paterson, of Baltimore, and Miss Caton, of Annapolis; the Duchess of Wellington; my wife; the Rev. Gerald Wellesley; and other gentlemen were of the company.

We went to dinner punctually a few minutes after seven, and what follows passed at table, or afterwards in the drawing-room.

Speaking of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, when I alluded to my visit there, under the Duke's obliging auspices, he said that one hundred and fifty cadets (a number which to me had appeared small for the whole British army) were found enough; as it was only for the artillery and engineers that the academy educated young men. The military school at Sandhurst was designed, he said, for young men who went into the line. The establishment at Woolwich, he thought, on the whole, as complete as any one of a similar nature known to him in Europe. Speaking of the Russian army, he said that it might probably be put down at from eight to nine hundred thousand men, and its annual expense at about 9,000,000*l.* sterling. The Russian soldiers, he added, were now well fed, well clothed, and well found in all respects. He remarked that the British army was the most expensive in Europe, and the Dutch next.

General Moreau was spoken of, who fell at Dresden. I said that when he was in the United States, I had once passed an evening in his company; and that he spoke of his sensations of delight on gaining his first victory,



saying that he then “felt on a level with his profession.” The Duke remarked, that were he to speak of his feelings when it had been his fortune to gain a battle, he would say that they had generally been painful; for there was grief for those who had fallen; and next, it imposed instantly the necessity of doing more, as no commander could remain quiet after victory; a larger view opened to him, often causing anxiety from the difficulties to be overcome for insuring further advantages.\* I said that it was a remark of Moreau’s, made on the same occasion, that the fault with most commanders, however brave, was backwardness in taking the last step to bring on a battle, especially when armies were large, arising from deep moral anxiety; and, after all, the uncertainties of the issue. The Duke said it was a just remark.

The Archduke Charles of Austria being spoken of, the Duke repeated in effect what I had heard him say to my distinguished countryman, General Harper, of Maryland—namely, that he probably had more military science than any of the generals of Europe

\*The reader will recall one of Suetonius’s remarks of Cæsar: that when he defeated his enemy, he also drove him out of his camp, and followed up the victory so warmly as to give him no time to rally.

contemporary with him. The conversation proceeding, the Duke remarked, in this connexion, that a general might stand too much upon the rules of science while an engagement was going on; there could not be too much attention to them in all his arrangements beforehand, he said; but the battle once begun "the main thing to think of was hard fighting."

The Thistlewood conspiracy was touched upon, and some particulars related. One was, that on the night of the Duke of San Carlos's entertainment in Portland-place, when the Horse Guards were called out, it was believed that Thistlewood was in the crowd, intending mischief; but the presence of the Horse Guards had kept all quiet. When the daring character of the plot was spoken of, the Duke's opinion was, that if the conspirators had got into Lord Harrowby's dining-room and found the Cabinet all at dinner, most of them would probably have been killed; "how," said he, taking a table-knife in his hand, "could we have defended ourselves with a weapon like this, against men rushing in to murder us, armed with swords, pistols, and hand grenades?" He said that, having taken off the Ministers, their first step would probably have been to rob the banks in the Strand.

He asked me if there was any foundation for the rumor of our having any serious misunderstanding with France;—he here alluded to a late Act of Congress imposing a duty of eighteen dollars a ton upon French vessels in our ports. I said No, it was merely a measure of commercial policy—a countervailing measure on our side. He said that, as far as he understood the question, we appeared to be in the right.

If the Duke's guests found his conversation interesting, his table called up historical reminiscences. When the dessert courses came, the fruit-dishes, plates, vases, and other ornamental pieces of a service of china presented to him by the King of Prussia, were illustrative of his own life. Each piece represented some passage in it. It began with a view of Dangan Castle in Ireland, where he was born; gave you Eton in England, where he was educated; took you to India, and showed you Poonah, Assaye, Seringapatam, and other places, marking his career of victory and fame in that country; brought you back to Europe, and gave you his achievements in the Peninsular war, Vimiera, Talavera, the lines of Torres Vedras, Badajoz, Vittoria, and so on, until, finishing the story of renown in the Peninsula, you come up to Belgium, where the overthrow of Napoleon

at Waterloo, closes the long scene of glory. One of the dessert-plates set before me, had the view of Busaco; another that of Salamanca. Thus, all his campaigns were traced; and with them, an outline of European and Asiatic history for a quarter of a century in many of its momentous and decisive events. The paintings and scenery on each piece were beautifully executed. Pieces of another service, made at Dresden, and presented to the Duke by the King of Saxony, were on the table, and also historical.

I should sin almost against my country, to close the recollections of an evening so passed without saying, that none at table were better fitted to win favorable opinions, by all attractiveness and grace, than our fair countrywomen, Mrs. Patterson and Miss Caton, of Annapolis, granddaughters of the illustrious Carrol of Carrolton. The former subsequently married the Marquis Wellesley; the latter, Lord Stafford.

I take occasion to add, that the Duke sent me, with a courteous note, a paper containing the regulations which apply to the age and course of study in detail necessary to the admission of cadets to the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich; which I transmitted



to my Government for the use of the War Department.

July 19. I yesterday received in a communication from Mr. Goulbourn, of the Colonial Department, the copy of a dispatch addressed on the 16th of June to Lord Bathurst by the Governor of Gibraltar, respecting the differences which have existed between the officers of our squadron in the Mediterranean, and the British officers of that garrison. Annexed to it was also a copy of a letter of the 3rd of June from Governor Don to Commodore Bainbridge, of our flag-ship Columbus. From these documents it appeared that Governor Don considered the differences as all happily settled. I forwarded them to my Government.

July 20. In a dispatch sent to the Secretary of State, I mention that Mr. Stratford Canning had had his audience of leave of the King, and might be expected to embark soon for Washington. I also transmit to the Department a pamphlet containing all the documents published in London, on the imputed designs of France to establish a throne at Buenos Ayres, and place upon it a Prince of the House of Bourbon, the subject having awakened attention in the highest political circles. I mention that the Duke de Cazes, the newly-arrived

Ambassador from France, did not admit the documents to be genuine, and disavowed ever having seen the South American Envoy, Gomez ; but that whether he had disavowed for the Marquis Desolles also, I had not been informed. I allude to the debate in the House of Commons on the call for information relative to these documents ; in the course of which Dr. Lushington argued the broad principle that England ought to recognize, immediately and fully, the independence of Buenos Ayres ; but that Lord Castlereagh had dissented from such a policy ; and that Sir James Mackintosh, in his speech, had intimated, that since the altered state of things in Spain, the question of desiring a separation of the Colonies from the parent state had essentially changed. I also call attention to what Mr. Canning said in the debate,—viz., that as history had shown the condition of Colonies to be more acquiescent and servile under the government of popular assemblies than under the authority of even absolute monarchies, (quere—has it?) all those who had wished to see the Colonies emancipated from monarchical Spain, ought to cherish the wish more strongly now that Spain had established a popular Government.

I mention further, that our Minister in Spain, Mr. Forsyth, had written to me, that he understood that the informal agents in London, from Caraccas, Buenos Ayres, and Chili, had held a meeting in May, at which it was determined to address applications to Russia, Austria, and Prussia, desiring that Princes of their families might be given to Spanish America generally; and that one might be specially selected from the Brazils for Buenos Ayres—for so I read his letter; but I add, that as it came in cipher, there may have been some inadvertence in his copyist. I go on to inform the Secretary that I was not aware of the facts mentioned in Mr. Forsyth's letter; but had been informed, that since the establishment of the constitution of 1812 in Spain, the agents of Chili, Buenos Ayres, and Venezuela, did meet in London, though with a very different object; that it was jointly to sign, as they did sign, according to my information, an address to the King of Spain, asking that their independence might be acknowledged; that this address was transmitted to Ferdinand through the Duke of San Carlos, then Spanish Ambassador in London, and that the answer received through the same channel in London was, that no proposition would be listened to, by *the Cortes* or King, that had not



for its basis the return of the Colonies to their subjection to the mother country.

At seven in the evening, dined at the Russian Ambassador's, where we had the Duke of York, the Duke de Cazes, new French Ambassador, with nearly all the Diplomatic Corps; also Lord Castlereagh, the Marquis and Marchioness of Stafford, Lord Palmerston and some others. Conversation could not keep clear of the case of the Queen; not, indeed, as a general topic, but sometimes in under tones, two and two—so it was in my neighbourhood.

July 22. Dined at Lord Castlereagh's. The dinner was given to the new French Ambassador. We had all the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Melville, Mr. Canning, Mr. C. Bathurst, Mr. Wellesley Pole, Lord Amherst, Mr. Planta, Lord Ancram and others.

I sat next to the Duke of Wellington, and had much conversation with him, the dinner lasting a good while, and being too large for general conversation. He spoke of parts of the war in the Peninsula, in ways greatly to interest me. He also adverted to the designs of France upon Buenos Ayres, as imputed, which he hoped might not be true; if true, they would show an intrigue, he said, which England would not like, and not belonging to the age,



which had "excluded double-dealing from public affairs." I give his emphatic words. The member of the Bourbon family whom it was said France desired to put on a throne at Buenos Ayres, the documents stated to be the Prince of Lucca, nephew to the King of Spain.

July 24. Dined at Mr. Planta's, New Burlington Street. We had Lord Strangford; Mr. Stratford Canning; Mr. de Neuman, of the Austrian Embassy; Baron Bulow, of the Prussian; Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Gordon, and other English gentlemen.

Many subjects were touched: the Queen; Junius; Cobbett; the London newspapers. Regarding the last, the amount of capital, in money and mind, embarked in some of the leading ones, struck me as very remarkable, on facts which were mentioned; meaning by capital in *mind*, the men of education and talents, formed at the universities or otherwise, who are silently auxiliary to the Editors. Lord Strangford, who had been British Minister at Rio Janeiro, told me that he knew Mr. Sumpster, of South Carolina, our Minister at that Court, and esteemed him highly. His conduct in the affair of the Queen's carriage at Rio Janeiro, which he narrated, was, he said, perfectly correct, to which the company appeared to assent.

July 26. Mr. and Mrs. Middleton, Mr. Stratford Canning, and Mr. Planta dine with us. Mr. Canning's prospects in the United States, in the mission to which he is destined, becomes a topic, and Mr. Planta enlivens us with pleasant sallies on the whole subject.

July 27. Dine with his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex at Kensington Palace. The Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Thanet, Lord Ebrington, the Marquis of Tavistock, Lord Anson, Mr. Coke, General Fitzroy, and others, made the company.

At table, I was between the Duke of Sussex and Duke of Hamilton. The latter had been much abroad, and talked on continental affairs, especially of the growing power of Russia.

The Duke of Sussex sat at the head of his table, in true old English style, and was full of cordiality and conversation. I cannot resist the satisfaction of putting down a small part of what fell from him. General principles of government coming to be spoken of, he expatiated on the benefits of free government; declaring, that as *all men, Kings as well as others, were perpetually prone to abuse power when they got to the possession of it, the only safe course, was, to limit its exercise by the strictest constitutional rules.* In the palace of Kings, and from the son and brother of a King, I should not

have been quite prepared for this declaration, but that it was not for the first time I had heard him converse. The sentiments which it embodied, even with new strength and precision, I now listened to with renewed pleasure. If such sentiments flourished so near the British Throne, what may we not be allowed to think of the race of sturdy and spirited Englishmen who settled the United States in the days of Elizabeth, Cromwell, and the Stuarts?

August 12. The case of the Queen excites an interest so absorbing, that I thus reported to the Secretary of State its position and aspect.

I mentioned that all attempts at a compromise having failed, her case was transferred from the House of Commons to the House of Lords; that there was no abatement of the heats which it had produced; that the proceedings had taken the shape of a Bill of Pains and Penalties, which a Committee of the Lords reported against her, and that it was under the allegations of this Bill that she was to be put upon her trial; that its provisions went to deprive her of all her rights and prerogatives as Queen Consort of the Realm, and to dissolve the marriage between herself and the King; and that the charge laid against her, was that of misconduct with Bartholomew Bergami, an



Italian, whom she took into her service, and advanced to a high station in her household.

I mentioned that these proceedings were strongly objected to, whatever might have been her misconduct. It was alleged, that they overthrew the fundamental rule of British jurisprudence, which separated judicial from legislative powers; that in this respect, a bill of pains and penalties was like acts of attainder and confiscation, which were odious in English history, as associated with arbitrary times; that it overstepped all the ordinary barriers of the law, and was wounding to the Constitution; that no private subject in Britain could obtain a sentence of divorce judicially, for the cause mentioned in the bill, without allowing to the respondent the right of recrimination; but that the Queen was entirely cut off from it. That she had also been refused a list of the witnesses against her, as well as a specification of the place or places where, or of the time when, her imputed misconduct had taken place; all parts of the continent of Europe, which she had visited during a space of six years, having been left open to her accusers on both those material heads; but in this connexion I mention also, that her accusers had given assurances that the proceedings against her would not be hurried to her disadvantage;



for that after the testimony against her was closed, she would be allowed full time for taking measures to repel it.

I mentioned, that when the bill was reported in the House of Peers, Earl Grey declared, that their Lordships, in consenting to act upon it, had placed themselves, for all that concerned the Queen's hopes of justice, and their own responsibilities, in the threefold and awful situation of legislators, prosecutors, and judges ; and that in the House of Commons, amongst other vehement denunciations of the bill from different Members, Mr. Bennet had warned the Ministers against going on with a proceeding, at the consequences of which the boldest mind might shudder.

I remarked, that whilst it belonged to the English, in Parliament and out of it, to exaggerate incidents of political danger, the question of the Queen's trial was, without doubt, one which seemed to be rising in importance under the keen personal sensibilities embarked in it on both sides ; that there were not wanting persons who said, that, should the Queen be degraded, and the King embrace the option which would then be open to him of another marriage, and issue spring from it, the very succession to the monarchy might become endangered, as succeeding Parliaments had

often been known to undo the acts of prior Parliaments passed in violation of received opinions of constitutional right ; and because, not only the immediate brothers of the King, but their descendants, male and female, would have the great stake of a throne in the inculcation of that doctrine.

Such was the purport of my communication. I stated also, that the Session of Parliament might be considered as substantially at an end ; that it had stood adjourned since the middle of July, and although to meet again in a week from the time I wrote, it was not supposed that any further business would be done, beyond that which related to the Queen ; her case occupying, since it first arose, so much of the time of both Houses, as to have abridged in amount and interest all other proceedings. That even the Coronation, a ceremony which it was believed the King had much at heart, from the long interval since there had been one in England, was postponed on this ground ; and that thus the calls of public business and desire of kingly display, were alike held in suspense by the dispute.

August 14. On the 11th instant Mr. Stratford Canning embarks on his mission to the United States, in the Spartan frigate, from Portsmouth.

August 17. Lord Holland rose in the House of Lords yesterday, and stated that he designed, at an early day, to put certain questions to Ministers, for the purpose of obtaining information on the existing relations between Russia and England on the one hand, and between Russia, England, and Spain on the other. His reason for desiring the information arose, he said, from the manifesto recently issued by Russia on the subject of the revolution in Spain; the principles contained in which his Lordship denounced, as calculated to involve Europe in endless wars, and to endanger the peace and happiness of future generations. Lord Liverpool replied, that when the questions were put in a regular form, he would be ready with the proper explanations, adding, that there was nothing in the relations between England and Spain that was likely to lead to a renewal of hostilities.

Subsequently, Lord Liverpool, in the House of Lords, and Lord Castlereagh, in the House of Commons, gave their explanations, on the part of the Ministry, respecting Spanish affairs. They were, that Great Britain was no party to any league among the Sovereigns of Europe for interfering with the cause of self-government in Spain; and that the communications from the British to the Spanish Government

had been bottomed upon a desire to keep up the relations of amity between the two countries, as well as a wish that the proceedings going on under the Cortes, might end in the establishment of a just and rational system of government for Spain; explanations which I communicated to the President, with the addition, that Lord Castlereagh had expressed, in conversation, similar sentiments to me.

August 18. Mr. George Washington Campbell, our late Minister at Petersburg, here on his return to the United States, Mr. J. Adams Smith and myself, pass the day in visiting Kew, Richmond, Twickenham, Hampton Court, and Windsor. At Windsor we went through the principal part of the Castle. In the church near Richmond, we saw the monument to Pope, and the one he erected to his nurse; at Twickenham, his villa, his grotto, the stump of his old willow, the column raised in honour of his mother, *et cetera*. We went to Strawberry Hill, and had a rapid glance at that beautiful little Gothic residence, rendered immortal by the prince of letter-writers, Horace Walpole. At Hampton Court, we saw the Maze; the enormous grape-vine; and all the rooms of the palace. At Kew, the gardens, and rooms of the old palace, the furniture of which had all been left as when they were last occupied by the



Royal Family, the late Queen having died there. We went also to Runnymede, the famous scene of Magna Charta, which we were especially anxious to see. All this was a good day's occupation ; but having on this occasion only one day to give to it, we were industrious, and, at least, had a bird's-eye view of things, though certainly not more. The day was fine, we were off by six in the morning, and got back to town at eight in the evening.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

TRIAL OF THE QUEEN.—AMERICAN VESSELS BOUND TO FRENCH PORTS PERMITTED TO LAND THEIR CARGOES IN ENGLAND UNDER THE WAREHOUSING SYSTEM.—CONTINUATION OF THE QUEEN'S TRIAL.—MR. BROUGHAM IN THIS CONNEXION —DINNER AT THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR'S, AT HARROW, IN HONOR OF THE BIRTH OF THE DUKE OF BORDEAUX.—RATIFICATION OF THE FLORIDA TREATY.—DINNER AT THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR'S.—TERMINATION OF THE QUEEN'S TRIAL.—LONDON ILLUMINATED.—DINNER AT MRS. PORTER'S.—ANECDOTES OF NAPOLEON.—DINNER AT THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR'S, PORTLAND PLACE.—DINNER AT MR. COUTTS TROTTER'S.—PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.

August 26. WENT to the House of Lords to attend the trial of the Queen. The attendance of Peers was very full. Lord Grenville, Lord Erskine, Lord Redesdale, Lord Liverpool, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Ellenborough, spoke to a point respecting the cross-examination of witnesses. No decision was pronounced upon it. Mr. Brougham, leading counsel of the Queen, also addressed the House, after which an adjournment took place until Monday. I was immediately under the

Throne, being the place where the Foreign Ministers go, if inclining to attend.

August 30. Attend the trial of the Queen, the examination of witnesses still going on. The testimony is taken down by a short-hand writer, and printed every day, from his notes, for the use of all parties. Counsel as well as Peers are thus spared the labor of writing it down, and can be employing their minds instead of their hands.

September 4. Attend again; the examination of witnesses continues. Several Peers took part in the examination,—Lord Liverpool, Earl Grey, Earl Grosvenor, the Duke of Hamilton, and others.

September 9. The House of Lords adjourn, to afford an interval for the Queen to prepare for her defence, the case having now been seventeen days under hearing.

September 20. Mr. Middleton left London yesterday. I communicate to my Government a full account of all that was done with the British Government during his stay of more than two months, towards previous arrangements for bringing the Slave Question under the Treaty of Ghent, before the Emperor of Russia as umpire; arrangements which would have been sooner perfected, but for impediments to business created by the case of the

Queen. The precise nature of these arrangements need not be stated, any more than additional ones which afterwards became necessary, as the award was in our favor, and was followed by a satisfactory settlement of the whole case, as already mentioned in Chapter XIX. of the former volume.

September 24. Dined with the French Ambassador, the Duke de Cazes, ten miles from town, at the seat of Lord Northwick, near Harrow. We had a portion of the Diplomatic Corps and other company; the attractiveness of the dinner being increased by the rural scenery surrounding us.

September 30. Having heard that some of our vessels bound to French ports had been permitted to land their cargoes at British outports under the warehousing acts, the heavy tonnage duty in France causing the American owners to suspend their original destination, I went to the Office of the Board of Trade to make application on the subject, and learned that it was the fact. I communicated the information to the Secretary of State, saying that I had reason to know that this Government was not inattentive to the progress of our disputes with France respecting tonnage duties; and if they were not adjusted, would naturally turn them to account, more espe-



cially as they were occurring at a time when an extension of the warehousing system, with a view to making England a centre of trade for the rest of the world was becoming, as past communications from me had made known, more than ever a favorite object of her commercial policy.

October 3. The House of Lords re-assembled in continuation of the trial of the Queen. After some introductory remarks from Lord Liverpool, disavowing on the part of the Government all improper dealing with the witnesses (a disavowal induced by the published letter of a Mr. Marietti), and stating his readiness to exhibit an account of all the moneys paid to the witnesses in support of the bill, Mr. Brougham, as counsel for the Queen, opened her case with great power and boldness. He declared that nothing should check him in fulfilling his duty, and that he would recriminate upon the King, if necessary. He said that an English advocate could look to nothing but the rights of his client; and that even should the country itself suffer, his feelings as a patriot must give way to his professional obligations. This I thought too strong, if interpreted in the broad sense of which it is susceptible.

It is worth a passing notice that, during

the adjournment of this momentous trial, Mr. Brougham attended the assizes at Yorkshire, and engaged in a cause on behalf of a poor old woman, upon whose *pig-cot* a trespass had been committed. It was on the side of a common of upwards of one hundred acres, upon about *five yards* of which the *pig-cot* was alleged to have encroached. The poor woman had paid the lord of the manor a yearly rent of *sixpence* for it, and *sixpence* on entering. The *pig-cot* having been pulled down, the jury found for the old woman, and gave her forty shillings damages. To have been counsel for the Queen of the realm, and in such a case as this at the same time, is illustrative of the English Bar, and, individually, of Mr. Brougham.

October 6. Go to the House of Lords. The Earl of Llandaff, Lady Charlotte Lindsay, the Honorable Keppel Craven, and Sir William Gell, are examined on the part of the Queen, several Peers taking part in the examination; amongst them Lord Erskine, the Earl of Roseberry, and Earl Grosvenor.

October 9. Go again. Dr. Holland, Mr. Mills, and other witnesses are examined in her behalf. The testimony has assumed aspects so much in her favor, that I hear from high sources that the Ministers are doubting, and that probably the bill will not be persisted in.

\*\*\*\*\*, of the Corps, thinks that it will not.

October 10. After getting from the House of Lords yesterday, I went to dinner at the French Ambassador's, at Harrow. It was an entertainment on a brilliant scale, given in honor of the birth of the Duke of Bordeaux, a new heir to the throne of the Bourbons. The Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers were there, the Earl of Mansfield, Lord Northwick, and others. A band of music was in attendance, playing at intervals, and the bells of Harrow rang merry peels. After dinner, from which we did not rise until a late hour, the house and grounds were illuminated, and the entertainment closed with an exhibition of fireworks at the bottom of the lawn. The inhabitants of Harrow and the neighbourhood were out in great numbers on the skirts of the lawn, gazing at the spectacle.

Lord Liverpool, Lord Castlereagh, and other members of the Cabinet had been expected to this entertainment, and their absence was a great disappointment to the distinguished host. Dinner waited for them; none knew the cause of the delay, when at length a messenger came with an apology. It appeared that a Council of the Ministers had been unexpectedly sum-



moned to meet at the Palace on the case of the Queen.

October 14. The trial of the Queen proceeds. John Powell, Filippo Pomi, and others are examined.

October 16. Admiral Sir John Beresford and others are examined.

October 20. This morning I receive information from the Spanish Ambassador of the ratification of the Florida Treaty, and forthwith communicate it to my Government, sending the dispatch to Liverpool to go by the first ship, that it may have the chance of conveying the information to Washington before it can arrive direct from Madrid.

October 24. The trial of the Queen goes on. Although I had information a fortnight ago that Ministers were deliberating as to an abandonment of the bill, subsequent testimony proving less favorable to her case, they determined to let it take its course; and I now write to my Government that there seemed no certainty what would be the result.

November 11. Dined with the Duke de Frias, Spanish Ambassador. We had the Diplomatic Corps in part, and several English gentlemen. With the Spanish Ambassador I had an exchange of congratulations on the final ratification at Madrid of the Florida Treaty.



Mr. \* \* \* \* \* told anecdotes of the Queen ; amongst them, that when she lived at Blackheath she had many a time played blindman's buff with Sir William Scott, Mr. Canning, and others who made up her parties. He also said that Bergami had declared that if he ever caught Alderman Wood in Italy, he would kill him, as he had been the means of making the Queen refuse fifty thousand pounds sterling a-year from the Government ; of which sum, had it come into her hands, he, Bergami, would have had a handsome portion annually for life.

November 14. The trial is over which has so intensely riveted public attention in England, and excited, to some extent, the attention of Europe. The report to my Government of the final proceedings and result, was to the following effect :

I mention that the entire evidence and speaking being closed on the 30th of October, an adjournment of the House of Lords took place until the 2nd of November ; the testimony alone, independent of the speeches of counsel and all interlocutory debates among the Peers, having extended to upwards of nine hundred pages folio ; that from the 2nd of November to the 6th, the Peers were occupied

in debates upon the evidence, almost every Member assigning reasons for the vote he intended to give; that on the 6th the vote was taken and the bill passed to a second reading by a majority of twenty-eight. That on the 8th of November, another vote was taken, as to whether the clause providing for a divorce should be maintained in the bill, and passed in the affirmative; that in regard to this vote, several of the Peers who were opposed to the principle of the Bill, gave their votes in *favor* of the clause for a divorce, in the hope, which they avowed, of rendering the bill still more exceptionable with some of the Members, (meaning the Bishops,) and thus increasing the chance of its ultimate defeat; and I also mention that the Ministers, who perceived this course, and were probably apprehensive of its effect, voted for striking out the divorce clause (otherwise known to be desired by the King) and found themselves in the minority.

I go on to state, that on the 10th of November, the bill, with the divorce clause retained, was put to vote for a third reading; and that on this final vote it passed, by a majority of nine, one hundred and eight voting for it, and ninety-nine against; and that amongst those who voted in its favor, were

included the nine Peers who were Members of the Cabinet, and the whole Bench of Bishops, except four; that the majority being thus slender, and thus composed, Lord Liverpool, as head of the Ministry, rose and abandoned all further prosecution of the bill, declaring that he did so on the double ground of the smallness of the majority, and the strongly expressed sense of the country against the measure. I add, that a large number of the Peers who voted against the bill, did not give their votes, as they expressly stated, on any clear belief in the Queen's innocence, but voted on the ground of the unconstitutionality and inexpediency of the bill; and I state further, as a curious fact, that the parts of the evidence which had borne hardest upon the Queen, and on which those who supported the bill were driven in the end to rely most, had come from witnesses called and examined in her defence.

Such is a synopsis of the account I transmitted. The debates among the Peers grew stormy as the case approached its close. Earl Grey declared, that if their Lordships passed the bill, it would prove the most disastrous step the House had ever taken. Earl Grosvenor said, that feeling as he did the evils which the erasure of the Queen's name from



the Liturgy (a measure taken before her trial came on) was likely to entail upon the nation, as well as its repugnance to law and justice, he would, had he been Archbishop of Canterbury, have thrown the prayer-book in the King's face, sooner than have consented to it. On the other hand, the Duke of Mon-trose said, even after the Ministers had abandoned the bill, that so convinced was he of her guilt, that whatever others might think fit to do, he, for one, would never acknowledge her for his Queen.

London was illuminated, more or less, for three successive nights, under edicts put forth by popular feeling, at the overthrow of the bill. The streets, the theatres, the highways, gave testimony of the popular joy at the Queen's triumph; for so her friends and partisans called it, notwithstanding the loud assertions to the contrary kept up by those who took part against her.

An impartial spectator of the whole scene, admonished by his public situation to side with neither party, may be allowed to say, (what he thought and felt,) that the Ministry showed great wisdom in surrendering up their measure as an offering to popular feeling, though they had carried the bill. Lord Ros-slyn, in the course of his powerful speech, put



their wisdom in a strong light by saying, amongst his other objections to the measure, that, had it passed, it would have become a formidable rallying point for disaffection throughout the kingdom, and have tended to bring the House of Lords into disrepute at a time when that branch of Parliament ought specially to desire and deserve popular approbation.

The trial exemplified striking characteristics of the English nation. A majority of the Peers held on to it with a firmness that the patricians of Rome could not have exceeded, until they carried their point by a conviction. Their sense of justice and pride satisfied, they allowed the popular part of the constitution to have play. The people, inflamed by wrongs done to a woman, as they viewed her cause, took it up with the unconquerable resolution of Roman plebeians, and would probably not have yielded. But that which was perhaps most remarkable throughout the fierce encounter, was the boundless range of the press, and liberty of speech. Every day produced its thousand fiery libels against the King and his adherents, and as many caricatures, that were hawked about all the streets. The Queen's counsel, Mr. Denman, addressing himself to the assembled Peerage of the Realm,

denounced, in thundering tones, one of the brothers of the King, as a slanderer :—"Come forth," said he, "THOU SLANDERER;" a denunciation the more severe, from the sarcasm with which it was done, and the turn of his eye towards its object; and even after the whole trial had ended, Sir Francis Burdett, just out of prison for one libel, proclaimed aloud to his constituents, and had it printed in all the papers, that the Ministers ALL DESERVED TO BE HANGED! This tempest of abuse, incessantly directed against the King, and all who stood by him, was borne, during several months, without the slightest attempt to check or punish it; and it is too prominent a fact to be left unnoticed, that the same advocate who so fearlessly uttered the above denunciation, was made Attorney-General when the Prince of the Blood who was the OBJECT OF IT, sat upon the Throne; and was subsequently raised to the still higher dignity of Lord Chief Justice, where he still remains—an honor to the kingdom.

November 15. Dined yesterday at Mrs. Porter's, Upper Norton Street. We had Colonel Wilkes, who, as English Governor at St. Helena, first had charge of Bonaparte; Mr. Boswell, brother to Johnson's Boswell, and a few others—gentlemen and ladies.

Colonel Wilkes told anecdotes of Bonaparte. The one which struck me most was, that a frequent pastime with him after his arrival at St. Helena, was to play blindman's buff with the ladies and children; and that he entered fully into the spirit of it.

Is this *the* game of the great names of the earth? Last month I heard, that the profound jurists of Britain, her statesmen and orators, her Cannings, and Scotts, played it with the Queen; now I learned, and through a channel equally authentic, that Napoleon was addicted to it!

In connexion with this personal anecdote of him from such a source, I am led to relate what I heard Baron Just say at a subsequent day, when dining with him in Portman Street. The Baron was Minister from the King of Saxony at Napoleon's Court, saw him often, and, on two occasions, had special audiences, which lasted an hour each. "And I had occasion to remark," said he, "first, that he was not hurried in conversation; but composed and master of himself. Second, that his manner, instead of overawing, was so remarkably calculated to put you at ease, that I was forced to recollect myself," said the venerable diplomat, "after being some time in his presence, lest things might fall from me not proper to



be said in consequence of feeling myself so entirely at ease." On my remarking that these attributes had not generally been ascribed to him, he replied, that, by his experience on both occasions, they were, nevertheless, strikingly observable. He then added, that he once saw him in anger, and that he never had beheld an eye and countenance so fierce. It was on the occasion of his marriage to the Empress Maria Louisa, (the Baron being at the ceremony;) and his anger was produced by perceiving that some of the Princesses of his family, who were to act as train-bearers, were not in their places; and that certain chairs assigned for some Cardinals were vacant, and the Cardinals not there.

Here, again, what have we? The greatest man of ten centuries, as Lord Holland once called him in the House of Lords, and certainly the man who was always collected in the field of battle in proportion as danger thickened, and who could be himself under the most complicated difficulties of Civil Government, is fired with anger at breaches of personal etiquette!

November 17. Dined at the French Ambassador's, Portland Place, his domicile being removed to town. We had the Diplomatic Corps; also the Duke of Wellington, the Earl



of Liverpool, the Earl of Westmoreland, the Earl of Mansfield, Lord Melville, and other gentlemen.

I had much conversation with \* \* \* \* \* of the Diplomatic Corps. He said, that he did not anticipate any great results from the deliberations at Troppeau; the Emperor Alexander had been educated in liberal principles, and still had them in his head — whether in his heart or not, he could not say; his Minister, Capo' D'Istria, was very able; his other Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Nesselrode, not so able perhaps, and less liberal in his principles; both would be with him at Troppeau; the Emperor of Austria would be attended by Prince Metternich, who “hated all Constitutions,” he said, and the Emperor Alexander “had no love for him;” the King of Prussia would be attended by the Prince Royal; also by Prince Hardenburg, and M. de Bernstoff — the two latter being in the interest of Austria. England would be represented only by Lord Stewart, English Ambassador at Vienna. He also told me, that Russia had obtained a loan of forty millions of rubles from the Barings and Hopes, and that Austria had got a small one from Rothschild, but none whatever from the British Government, or under its guarantee; adding his be-

lief that the British Government had refused either to lend or guarantee, as the object of the loan connected itself with meditated hostilities by Austria against Naples.

At table I had Lord Mansfield next to me ; he stands next but one, in that title, to Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, who has so much fame with the Bar and Bench in the United States as well as England, having succeeded to the title as his great nephew. I asked if the destruction of the Lord Chief Justice's papers had been entire, in the attack upon his house in Bloomsbury Square during the riots of Lord George Gordon. He said, Yes ; nothing had been saved. I then, as a topic for conversation, referred to Bissett's account of that transaction in his history of George III., recalling the incident of the Chief Justice having found refuge with the Royal Family at Buckingham House, for the first few days after the burning of his own ; where the Queen had been so charmed with his conversation. His Lordship, smiling, said, that the incident, however prettily related, as far as he was informed, had never happened !

Some fine Burgundy circulating round the table, it was said to be the product of a vineyard in France eight hundred years old.

November 22. Dined at Mr. Coutts Trot-

ter's, at his villa, Barnsbury, three miles from town, where we had Lord Erskine, Sir Edmund Antrobus, Mr. Planta, Captain Lindsay, and the ladies of Mr. Trotter's family, my wife being also of the party. Lord Erskine did us the favor to take a seat in my carriage.

On the way out he was full of sprightliness. Always straightforward and powerful at the Bar and in Parliament, this distinguished Peer indulges in eccentricities in conversation. "*England,*" said he, "*is a blackguard country.*" "A great country," I rejoined. "Yes," said he, "*a great blackguard country; a boxing, fighting, country, and don't you call that blackguard?*" I said that he jumped to his conclusions faster than I could follow. "*Aye,*" said he, "*you are accredited to the King; but for all that, the King has been constantly fighting with Providence; Providence gave him high endowments, with a fine person, and had been trying to make him the head of a great and glorious people; but the King had been for ever battling it with him, and at the end of about the thirteenth round, with the advantage of good bottle-holders, he had now fairly beaten Providence off the ground.*" Here he was alluding to the case of the Queen, whose cause his Lordship had defended stoutly. Continuing this lively strain, he said that he had received many letters from the King in the



course of his life, and that nothing would now gratify him so much as an audience of half an hour with his Majesty, provided he would suffer him to talk to him as he formerly did—as a friend ; otherwise, he would make his bow after the first salutation ; but he humbly thought he could render him so popular, that he might dismiss his royal stud of horses, and trust to his people in all parts of the kingdom to draw his carriages wherever he wanted to go.

When we got to Mr. Trotter's, his Lordship kept up his sprightly vein at table. He gave us an account of his country seat at Hampstead, where Burke used to visit him. "I believe," said Mr. Trotter, "the soil is not the best, in that part of Hampstead where your seat is." "No, very bad," he replied ; "for although my grandfather was buried there an Earl near a hundred years ago, what has sprouted up from it since but a mere baron?" He alluded to his own title. He mentioned a fact, however, going to show that, although the soil yielded no increase in titles of nobility, it did in other things ; for in his description he referred to a chesnut tree upon it, which, when he first went to live there, his gardener bought at a nursery-garden for sixpence, and that it now yielded him thirty pounds a-year.



Conversation like this, and more from him on other subjects, was intermingled with good contributions from the rest of the company. His Lordship returned with us in our carriage, with no diminution of his sprightliness.

November 23. Parliament was prorogued until the 23rd of January. An unusual scene was witnessed in the House of Commons. The Queen having applied to the Ministry for a palace to reside in, since the Bill of Pains and Penalties against her was withdrawn, and her application being refused, on the ground that it rested with Parliament to provide an establishment of that kind, Mr. Denman, as one of her counsel, and also a Member of the House, rose and endeavoured to read a message from her Majesty before the usual forms of prorogation were gone through; but he could obtain no hearing. Uproar and confusion followed, making it difficult to get through the forms. The prorogation, however, was, in the end, duly effected. The very fact of her sending a message to the House, may be considered as in character with the speech she was said to have made after the bill against her had passed to a second reading. Her counsel drew a protest against it, which was taken to her to sign. This she did, with a hearty good will, exclaiming as she threw

down the pen, "There! *Regina still*, in spite of them."

November 25. Dine at Mr. Thornhill's, Bloomsbury Square, a Director of the East India Company. It was mentioned at table, that on the estate of a gentleman in Glamorganshire, orange trees are growing which were brought over to England in the Spanish Armada. The Spaniards confidently expecting to conquer England, had prepared themselves to stock it with all manner of good things; which may go to the account of the Spanish side of the argument about the Armada at the dinner at Lord Lansdowne's.

December 7. The Diplomatic Corps, consisting of all the Ministers Plenipotentiary in town, and their ladies, dine with us.

We talked of the deliberations at Troppeau. \* \* \* \* \* said, that the King of Naples had been invited to meet the Allied Sovereigns in person at Laybach, and that his refusal to go would be construed into not being free within his own dominions, and probably lead to an invasion of Naples by an Austrian force. The King's dilemma, he remarked, was very embarrassing. The Allied Sovereigns summoned him to their presence under threats; whilst the Constitutional party and Carbonari of his own country would restrain his departure.

He did not know if England and France had protested against an attack on Naples; his impression was, that in the present disturbed state of Italy, England would observe a neutral policy.

December 13. Dined at the French Ambassador's. We had all the Ambassadors and Ministers, with their ladies; Lord Castlereagh, Lord Fitzroy Somerset, M. De Neuman, M. Chinnery, and other gentlemen.

The Duke de Frias, Spanish Ambassador, told me that the Allied Sovereigns had "sent a summons" for him, adding, that if he did not obey, he supposed they intended to send an Austrian Army to look after him! He said that, by the Spanish Constitution, the King could not leave his kingdom, without the consent of the Cortes; if he did, it amounted, *ipso facto*, to an abandonment of his throne. He spoke of the Constitution of the United States, particularly of our Senate, which he called "the intermediate body." "You have none such in Spain," I remarked, "and are therefore more democratic; we prefer two Chambers." "It is true," said he, "we have but one; and" (pointing to the star which he wore) "though, with this on, I cannot find fault, I think the want of an intermediate body a defect in the Spanish Constitution.



Before going to dinner, Lord Castlereagh addressed me with great cordiality, saying as he came up "Why, I have not seen you these hundred years!" "My misfortune, my Lord," I replied. "It is a proof," said he, "how smooth the waters are between our two countries." "But," said I, "we must contrive to ruffle them a little, if their smoothness is to be followed by our separation!" "No, no," said he, "that won't do." More passed in the same strain, the bystanders of the Diplomatic Corps seeming to relish this friendly international and personal tone between us.

Let me here give brief expression to a feeling I often had during my mission,—one which is common, I suppose, to every Minister of the United States abroad. It is, his feeling of entire independence of the combinations and movements going on among the other Powers, no matter what may be their nature. Properly improved, this makes his personal position agreeable, as well with the Court where he may be residing, as with the entire Diplomatic Corps. For his country, he has only to be just and fear not. The smaller Powers cannot have this calm assurance; and the representatives of the great Powers naturally respect the office of American Minister, from a knowledge of the resources, and grow-



ing power of the nation that sends him; and also (some of them) from dreaming of contingencies which may make the friendship of the United States desirable, though their maxim be, "peace and commerce with all nations, entangling alliances with none." One of the members of the Corps, who witnessed the salutations passing between Lord Castle-reagh and me, said to me a few minutes afterwards, "How happy you must feel in these times, when none of us know what is to happen in Europe: you belong to us," (meaning to the Corps,) "yet are independent."

His Lordship asked me if Mr. Planta had shown me the letters from Sir Henry Wellesley respecting the ratification of our Treaty at Madrid. I said, Not yet. He replied, that he had requested him to do so, and would remind him of it.

I then spoke to him about the boundary-line under the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent, asking him if I could be furnished with certain documents, the general nature of which I explained; but as he was not at the moment familiar with them, it was agreed that I should write him an official note on the subject.

## CHAPTER XIX.

LETTER TO MR. CRAWFORD, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY AT WASHINGTON. — PARLIAMENTARY REPORT ON THE FOREIGN TRADE OF ENGLAND. — INTERVIEW WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH ON THE UMPIRAGE UNDER THE TREATY OF GHENT. — CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE MINISTER OF STATE AT MADRID, AND SIR HENRY WELLESLEY, BRITISH AMBASSADOR, RESPECTING THE FLORIDA TREATY. — PARTY AT THE AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR'S — AT THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR'S. — LANGUAGE OF OFFICIAL DIPLOMATIC NOTES. — LEVEE AT CARLTON PALACE. — SPECIAL AUDIENCE OF THE KING.

December 20. THE following letter to Mr. Crawford at Washington, Secretary of the Treasury, belonging to some of the topics lately engaging attention in the Mission, is inserted in connexion with them.

London, D cember 20, 1820.

DEAR SIR,

It is time that I wrote again to you, and I feel my delinquency; but the many calls upon the time of an American Minister in London, sometimes make it difficult to keep them all under.

There seems to be a stagnation of public excitement here at the present moment, from internal causes, the case of the Queen being at an end. Of foreign politics, you are probably in the way of hearing more through our Ministers at the several European capitals, than I can write you from this single one. All eyes seemed turned towards Italy. I believe it to be certain, that the Allied Sovereigns, before leaving Troppeau, determined that the King of Naples should be summoned to meet them at some place out of his dominions. Should he not obey, they will say that his people restrain him, and that therefore he is not free in his own states. Should he go, his people will say that he is ruled by foreigners.

What part will England act, should there be war? This is the question which concerns the United States. Ask her manufacturers and all who depend upon them, if they would not like war? The candid among them would answer, if you push them—Yes. Ask her merchants, and all who depend upon them; you would not get an answer very different—if you push them. Ask her army, ask her navy, and all dovetailed in with these great establishments. The answers come by instinct. You have already half the nation; and of those that remain, thousands would

join the war chorus. What will follow? I should say this: She will remain neutral for awhile, draw up an able State Paper or two, full of generalities against war, such as all State Papers contain; but be getting ready (though she is always ready) to take a hand in it. The vocation of a prophet is dangerous; but were I to prophesy at all, it would be much after the above fashion, should war really break out from the present revolutionary materials in Italy and Spain.

But ask her *Treasury*, you will say. I will answer that too. She has borne once, and could again, the property-tax. This would pay the interest on a new debt of three hundred millions. She could borrow that, and more, from her own people whenever she chooses. But what would she do when her debt was thus increased, as she could scarcely pay the interest of it, and war expenses, and all other expenses in addition, without further loans? I do not know. She will settle that when the time arrives. War, with all its general havoc, is apt to open the way to new profits and monopolies to Britain, from her sway on the ocean, and her insular situation, which keeps war from her own borders. She is a gigantic power, and has gigantic resources, many of them still undrawn upon. I cannot



see how she is to wind up, without a financial convulsion in some way ; but although the difference in figures would be double if her debt were to be increased to sixteen hundred millions sterling by a new war, she would not estimate in the same ratio an increase of her dangers. She cannot pay off the capital of eight hundred millions, nor do her creditors wish it ; and this is all you could say of sixteen hundred millions, should her debt get up to that mark. Should she lower the interest, it would only be doing what she has done before, and she might be able to get the consent of her creditors.

Notwithstanding the failure of the Bill of Pains and Penalties, I anticipate no change in the Ministry. Where would you find successors ? The Whigs have lost their strong ground, the Reformers having taken it from under them. They are a party of leaders, with no rank and file, fine accomplished men, but as aristocratic as the Tories ; the descendants of the party which converted Parliaments from three years into seven ; in fact, the party more inclined, at present, openly to impeach popular principles—at least, those of our Government—than the Tories, lest they should be suspected of Republicanism. The Tories, having no such fear, can afford to treat us better.

Besides, the King does not wish a change of Ministers, as is well understood. If he consulted the public voice out of doors, it would be hard to say where he could get Ministers more popular than those he has, unless he went among the Reformers. There is no King of England will ever do this voluntarily. Popular government suits us for a thousand reasons, but might prove a very different thing in England.

I bid you adieu, my dear Sir, with assurances of the respect and esteem with which I am, your faithful friend and servant,

RICHARD RUSH.

The Honourable W. H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury.

December 23. In connexion with the Report on the Foreign Trade of England, made by a Select Committee of the House of Commons during the last Session of Parliament, which I transmitted to the Secretary of State, I this day send a dispatch to the Department on the commercial laws and regulations of the kingdom,—a subject very complex and entangled, as the existence of full ELEVEN HUNDRED laws, ancient and modern, in the Statute Book, in relation to it, may sufficiently attest.

December 28. Had an interview with Lord

Castlereagh at the Foreign Office, sought on my part for the purpose of arranging further preliminaries with a view to the Umpirage of the Emperor of Russia, on the question under the Treaty of Ghent.

That business gone through, his Lordship referred to the Florida Treaty in connexion with the correspondence of Sir Henry Wellesley, of which he had spoken at the French Ambassador's. Mr. Planta having shown me the correspondence, his Lordship said that copies of the letters would be at my service, if I had any inclination for them. I said that they would be very acceptable, and was accordingly supplied with them. In making me acquainted with this correspondence, he remarked, that he did not do it in the shape of an official communication, but merely as connected with all our former conversations on the subject, now brought to a conclusion.

The correspondence consisted of an official letter from Evaristo Perez de Castro, Minister of State to the King of Spain, to Sir Henry Wellesley, British Ambassador, at Madrid, and the Ambassador's answer. I subjoin a copy of each :

SIR,

Palace, October 16, 1820.

The Cortes of the kingdom having authorised his Majesty to cede the Floridas to the United States, as is stipulated in one of the articles of the Treaty entered into between Spain and that Power on the 22nd of February, 1819, the King has determined to proceed to the ratification of that Treaty, which, as yet, has not been carried into effect on his part.

His Majesty, in commanding me to communicate to your Excellency his resolution upon this point for the information of your Government, is persuaded that his Britannic Majesty, who is aware of the principal events of that long and important negotiation, will not fail to see with pleasure that the speedy ratification of that Treaty will put an end to the differences which existed between the two nations, and will insure to Spain those relations of friendship and harmony which she is anxious to maintain with the Government of the United States.

(Signed)      EVARISTO PEREZ DE CASTRO.

The Ambassador's answer :—

The undersigned, &c., &c., requests his Excellency, the Minister of State, to accept his



acknowledgments for the note which he has done him the honor to address to him, apprising him of his Catholic Majesty's intention to proceed forthwith to the ratification of the Treaty with the Government of the United States, by an article of which the Floridas are ceded.

At the commencement of the negotiations which have led to this Treaty, his Britannic Majesty, in his zeal for the interests of his ally, and laying aside every consideration as to what might be most conducive to his own interests, announced to his Catholic Majesty his resolution not to oppose any arrangement which was calculated to put an end to the differences between Spain and the United States, and to establish their future relations upon an amicable footing.

To this resolution his Majesty's Government has invariably adhered.

The undersigned is therefore persuaded that the communication which his Excellency the Minister of State has enabled him to make to his Government, will be received by it with sentiments of the highest satisfaction.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity, &c., &c., &c.

(Signed) H. WELLESLEY.

Madrid, October 17, 1820.

It was with great satisfaction that I transmitted to my Government the foregoing correspondence, confirming, as it did, Lord Castlereagh's uniform declarations to me on this subject, from the evening I first informally opened it to him when we met at the Prince Regent's entertainment at Carlton House.

December 31. Passed last evening at Prince Esterhazy's. The Secretary of the French Embassy, who was there, gave me to understand that there was no foundation for the newspaper assertions of a treaty of commerce being on foot between France and England, though they had been made so confidently. In conversation with the Prince, he spoke of the members of the Austrian Imperial family, saying, that they were characterised by unostentatious habits and private worth. He spoke chiefly of the Emperor; said that his palaces for the most part were plain, and furnished with simplicity; that all persons could have access to him who wished it—scarcely were the humblest excluded; there was no previous scrutiny into their pretensions, and only very slight previous forms necessary. He ascribed all this to the Emperor's disposition, which he represented as very mild and paternal. We spoke of European politics, and the deliberations of Tropeau. I asked whether, in the case of a

campaign in Italy, the Archduke Charles would be likely to take the field. He said that he did not know, but that his health was better than for the last ten years, adding, that it was understood he was engaged in drawing up the memoirs of his military life, and in carrying still farther his studies upon the art of war.

January 4, 1821. Last night I was at the Russian Ambassador's. Mr. Planta was there, and we had conversation on the customs of this and other Governments, in regard to Foreign Ministers. He said that theirs (the British) had instructions to write, under all ordinary circumstances, a dispatch at least once a fortnight; but that this was apt to be much exceeded in point of fact. He said that they were instructed to make a separate dispatch, as far as possible, of every separate piece of business, and that this often made the number received from them very great; as, for example, from their Ambassador in Paris, from whom they received, every mail-day—and it recurred twice a-week—from two to three dispatches—seldom fewer; he should think it not improbable, that full three hundred had been received from him during the year just ended. In numbering their dispatches, they began afresh with every new year; and they



threw upon the Ambassador the duty of numbering them on the outside also, as well as of indorsing a short abstract of the subject. They thus arrived ready for the files, after being read.

In answer to inquiries as to the language employed in diplomatic notes in London, he said that this Government was now pushing forward the English language more than at any former period. Sir Henry Wellesley at Madrid, for instance, addressed the Spanish Government in English; in retaliation of which the Spanish Ambassador in London addressed his notes to Lord Castlereagh in Spanish. The Ambassadors and Ministers of all the other powers, he said, the United States excepted, (courteously alluding to the community of the English tongue between us,) wrote to Lord Castlereagh in French; but that the answers were uniformly in English. Formerly, they had been generally in French. It was Lord Grenville who, whilst Secretary for Foreign affairs, first broke in upon the use of French.

January 26th. Attended the Levee at Carlton Palace, and had a special audience of the King for the purpose of presenting two autograph letters from the President, in reply to two from the King; one announcing the death of the Duchess of York, the other re-



lating to the recall of Sir Charles Bagot from his mission to Washington. In delivering the former, I said that I was instructed to express the sincere concern which the President always felt in any event which affected personally the happiness of his Majesty or any of the Royal Family; and that in delivering the latter, I was specially directed to make known the entire satisfaction which the conduct of Sir Charles Bagot had given to my Government during his residence in the United States; and also the satisfaction with which the President had received from his successor, assurances of the continuation of his Majesty's good will towards the United States.

On the latter head, the King replied in expressions, and with a manner, of more than usual cordiality and earnestness. He said, that it was his most sincere and anxious desire to see harmony kept up between the two nations; that he rejoiced at its entire existence at the present time, and could give me the fullest assurances that nothing should be wanting on his part to render it permanent, for which there were the strongest motives on both sides. He added, (for I am bound to give his words as his Minister heard them, and they were known to his Cabinet,) that my

conduct had been always in the spirit of conciliation since I had been at his Court; and that there were occasions when the exercise of such a spirit had been useful, and acceptable to this Government. He remarked further, that he would not rest content with directing his Minister (turning to Lord Castlereagh who stood by him) to tell me so, but was happy to take this opportunity of saying so to me in person.

I answered, that I felt honored by his Majesty's words; that I well knew that I should not earn his Majesty's respect, unless I consulted, primarily, the interests of my own country; but that, in doing so, it was the first wish of my heart to be instrumental towards maintaining harmony between the two nations; and if my duty had been discharged in a manner to be acceptable to his Majesty, it was a source of high satisfaction to me. The audience here closed.

I saw Lord Castlereagh before the Levee was over. He alluded to what had passed at the audience; on which I expressed anew the satisfaction it had afforded me, feeling sure that his Lordship had prepared the way for what the King said.

## CHAPTER XX.

CORONATION OF GEORGE THE FOURTH. — SPECIAL AMBASSADORS FROM THE COURTS OF EUROPE COME TO ENGLAND TO ATTEND IT.—ALL THE FOREIGN AMBASSADORS AND MINISTERS ARE INVITED TO IT. — DINNER AT THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY'S, LATE LORD CASTLEREAGH. — FETE CHAMPETRE AT NORTH CRAY, IN HONOUR OF THE CORONATION.—DINNER AT THE KING'S.—DINNER AT THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S.—BALL GIVEN BY THE DUKE DE GRAMMONT, SPECIAL AMBASSADOR FROM FRANCE, IN HONOUR OF THE CORONATION, WHICH THE KING ATTENDS.

July 20. YESTERDAY the Coronation was celebrated in all due pomp. For two or three days preceding, princes, legislators, statesmen, bishops, philosophers, warriors, the young and old, grave and gay, the Tory and Whig, nobleman and commoner, rich and poor, seem all, more or less, to have been talking about it. The potentates of Europe sent over their special Ambassadors in honor of it. France hers, in the person of the Duke de Grammont; Russia hers, in Count Stackelberg; Austria hers, in the elder Prince Esterhazy; Prussia hers, in Prince Hatzfeldt;—all arriving with their re-

tinues; and the smaller Powers doing reverence to the occasion in the same way, though on a reduced scale of representation. All this may incite the representative of the United States to a few words on the general subject, whilst making a minute of the connexion he had with it.

The first notice of it that came to me in an official form, was in the shape of a note from Sir Robert Chester, the Master of Ceremonies, dated the 15th of June. This informed me, that the Coronation was to take place on the 19th of July; and that a space would be allotted in Westminster Hall and Westminster Abbey, for the accommodation of the Foreign Ministers and their families, and a portion of the strangers belonging to their respective Courts, who might happen to be in town, and had been previously presented to the King; and I was requested to make an early return of the individuals of my family, and of my "Court," to whom I considered it proper that invitations should be sent. To this note I replied in due form.

The further notices which I received from the same source as the time drew near, consisted of six different papers, as follow: 1. A paper on which were laid down the routes and streets which all carriages were to take in



conveying persons to and from the Hall and Abbey. These were settled by the Privy Council, as the paper stated; which was signed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department. 2. An engraved map of the whole course. 3. Instructions, signed by the Master of Ceremonies, in regard to dress. 4. My tickets of admission to the Hall, signed by Lord Gwydir, as Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain. 5. Similar tickets of admission to the Abbey, signed by Lord Howard of Effingham, who acted for the Duke of Norfolk, as Earl Marshal of England. 6. Eight printed sheets, in folio, containing a full account, in detail, of all the ceremonies to be witnessed in the Hall and Abbey.

So prepared, I set out with my suite at six in the morning. After various perils to my carriage, we reached Westminster Hall at about eight; for it took us that length of time to arrive, although the distance was not more than three miles from my residence. The route for the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, was down Grosvenor Place, along Milbank, through Abingdon Street, and in that way to the House of Lords. We should not have arrived so soon, but that the carriage of the Austrian Ambassador, Prince Esterhazy, which headed our line, manœuvred bravely;

the throng of carriages being so great at some points, that it became impossible to keep the exact order laid down. The morning was fine, which made the equipages and troops a brilliant sight. Even at that early hour, windows and front-doors were crowded with people, looking at the carriages of the Ambassadors and nobility with richly dressed persons inside, as they passed in procession to the great pageant of the day.

The box prepared for the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers was at the south end of the Hall, immediately opposite the one fitted up for the Royal Family. It bordered upon the Royal Platform, and was near the Throne. When we entered, the Hall was already filled with Peers, Peeresses, their daughters, and others, all in rich array. Heralds-at-arms were engaged in quietly arranging the various personages among the nobility and others who were to move in the grand procession from the Hall to the Abbey. Suddenly there was a pause, and perfect stillness. This betokened the entrance of the King, who came into the Hall at about ten o'clock in full state. All in the galleries rose, and continued to stand up. When the King was seated in the chair of state, he turned first towards the box of the Royal Family, and bowed; then did the same

towards that in which were the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers. I cannot attempt to describe the ceremonies which passed after the King came in until the procession moved, they were so numerous. Of the successive groups who made reverences before him previously to descending the steps of the Royal Platform to assume their places in the grand procession, the Royal Dukes, Prince Leopold, and the Marquis of Londonderry, were especially observable by the parts and costumes assigned to them. Some of these wore robes, and a hat looped up with the black heron feathers, whilst others had white plumes. In the shoes of some of them, diamonds were sparkling.

In an hour, or less, the procession began to move through the street, which, by a space here opening wide, leads across to Westminster Abbey. The King went under a canopy of cloth of gold, born over him with attendant pomp. But the part of the procession which seemed most regarded by many, was Miss Fellowes, the herb-woman, dressed in white; who, with her six young ladies in attendance, strewed flowers along the raised way of the procession, as the Royal Canopy and train were moving from the Hall to the Abbey. It took some time to reach the Abbey, so slow was the move-



ment. The streets, windows, house-tops, chimney-tops, were filled with people gazing at it. It was the only part of the ceremonial exhibited out of doors, and was all gorgeousness.

The Diplomatic Corps, including the special Ambassadors and their suite, went from the House of Lords to the Abbey through a covered passage hung with crimson, which had been prepared for the Royal Family, the Corps, and the Peeresses, and was erected entirely across the street. In the Abbey we found our accommodations such as they had been in the Hall, an ample box opposite to that of the Royal Family. In the Abbey it was that the actual crowning took place, but not until various other ceremonies, solemn in tone, had been performed. A sermon was preached by the Archbishop of York; text, "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God." Of the religious and state ceremonies, the coronation oath was most important. It was, as lawyers might say, the *gist* of the whole case, marking the transmission of the English Throne to a new Monarch. The King took it with much solemnity, kissed the book, and signed the oath. Its purport was, that he would govern the realm according to the laws of Parliament, cause justice to be executed in mercy, and maintain the



Protestant religion as established by law. The Archbishop of Canterbury administered it, and put the crown on. Then followed the homage and other ceremonies, amongst which was that of each Peer putting on his coronet at a given moment; a movement done simultaneously, with military exactness and effect. It took us by surprise, seeming like a hundred coronations all at once.

The Marquis of Anglesea, as Lord High Steward, carried the crown up to the altar, before the Archbishop placed it on the King's head. It was heavy with diamonds and other precious stones, and slipped from his hands; but the gallant Marquis, though with but one leg to stand upon, having lost the other at Waterloo, dexterously recovered it so that it did not fall.

The state and religious ceremonies in the Abbey, which took up a long time, being finished, the King and everybody returned to the Hall. There the scene assumed a new character. There, it had its chief splendor. It was, in a high degree, joyous and animating. Whilst all were absent in the Abbey, the banquet was preparing in the Hall. The King was yet to dine in presence of his nobility and other subjects, between whom and himself the reciprocal public obligations had just

passed in the Abbey; and in presence of his Coronation guests; and all these were also to dine. The table for the King's banquet, was spread on the royal platform. The Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers had theirs in the Painted Chamber of the House of Lords, a communicating apartment under the same roof; but we rose from it soon to come into the Hall—the centre of all attraction. The Peeresses, Peers, and others associated with them, had theirs, in the body of the Hall. Here, six long tables were laid, three on each side, leaving a vista, or aisle, open in the middle, which directly fronted the royal platform. The platform and all the seats were covered with crimson; which, with the Peeresses richly dressed, and the plate on the banqueting-tables, and the company all seated, with the King at the head of his sumptuous table, shaped as a crescent, so that he and the few seated on his right and left faced the whole company, made the spectacle extremely magnificent. The comptroller and clerks of the kitchen, and purveyor of wines, had not, as may be imagined, overlooked their duties. But when the Champion appeared at the opposite extremity of the Hall, directly in front of the King; nothing seen at first but tufts of plumes waving from his horse's head, and his own hel-

met, startling emotions arose in every bosom. Curiosity was breathless to see the development of what was coming. He was attended by Howard of Effingham; and by Anglesea; and by another greater than all—the DUKE OF WELLINGTON; and as these, all on horseback, now entered abreast, the Champion heralding his challenge, and the horses seeming almost in contact with the outward line of Peeresses at the table, yet obedient to the bit, which they kept champng; as this equestrian train slowly advanced, in martial grace and strength, up the aisle towards the King, all eyes were soon turned upon one man in it. In vain did the declining sun through the vast old Gothic edifice, throw beams upon the bright and heavy armor of the Champion; in vain was it when the horses, reaching by slow, impatient steps the top of the aisle, and proudly halting at the steps of the royal platform, that the steel-clad Champion again put forth his challenge, threw down his glove, received the cup from his Sovereign, and drank to his Sovereign:—in vain all this; the beauty and chivalry at the banqueting-tables, still looked at the Duke of Wellington; still kept their eyes on the man whose person and horse recalled, not war in romance, but in its stern and recent realities. All were



at gaze—fixed, silent. He was habited only as a Peer, had only his staff as Lord High Constable; yet was he the observed of all. Nowhere was he more intently eyed, than from the box where sat the assembled Ambassadors of the Potentates of Europe. Judging from opinion in that box, there was nothing in the elaborate grandeur of the day, to rival this scene. It was the inherent pre-eminence of a great man, exalting moral admiration above the show of a whole kingdom.\*

I got home from it all by nine o'clock in the evening. Many were detained until midnight. An illumination followed. In divers parts of the town, fireworks were let off, balloons sent up, cannon made to roar, bells to ring, the theatres were opened gratis, and the whole night went off amidst the general huzzas of John Bull.

\* "The Champion" was Mr. Dymoke, who claimed that office by hereditary right from an age long back. The following were the words of his challenge:—"If any person, of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny or gainsay our Sovereign Lord King George the Fourth, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, son and next heir to our Sovereign Lord King George the Third, the last king, deceased, to be right heir to the imperial crown of this United Kingdom, or that he ought not to enjoy the same, here is his Champion, who saith that he lieth, and is a false traitor; being ready in person to combat with him, and in this quarrel will adventure his life against him on what day soever he shall be appointed."



In due time Sir Robert Chester waited upon me with a coronation medal, of which he asked my acceptance. It was of gold, with a bust of the King on one side, and on the other several emblematical representations, including Britannia with Neptune's trident. One of these medals, he said, was due by ancient custom to every Minister Plenipotentiary at the English Court when the King was crowned; he was distributing them, and was happy to hand me mine. I declined it, with expressions of respect towards his Majesty proper to be used, and under every sensibility to the honor of being invited to his coronation; but alleged that the constitution of the United States prohibited their Foreign Ministers receiving a present from any Foreign Prince or Potentate. Sir Robert, with his usual courtesy, then tendered it to Mrs. Rush, saying that our constitution surely did not mention the ladies! But here I was driven to quote the old common law upon him, which was part of our inheritance in the United States, and a good inheritance we thought it, though it did, ungallantly, make the wife's gold the husband's; so that it ended in our losing the medal both ways. These medals had been showered about the Abbey according to usage, when the coronation was over, just before we returned to

the kingly festivities of the Hall,—festivities which, truth to say, recalled something of the *field of gold cloth* of the time of the Tudors, and images of splendor from tournaments of the Plantagenets.

July 21. Dined at the Marquis of Londonderry's—late Lord Castlereagh, who has succeeded to the title of his father, the late Marquis of Londonderry, who died in April. We had all the Special Ambassadors; also the resident Corps, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Burghersh, Sir Henry Wellesley, Lord Clanwilliam, Count Metternich, and General Count Woronzoff, who commanded the Russian army of occupation in France. My seat at table was next to Count Woronzoff, and I was favoured with much of his conversation.

July 23. Went to the Marchioness of Londonderry's fête champêtre, at North Cray, given in honor of the coronation. All the Special Ambassadors with their suite, were at it; also the Cabinet Ministers, the resident Ambassadors and Ministers, with groups of the nobility and others. The company were received on the lawn, where ornamental tents were pitched and three bands of music stationed. The effect was heightened by the appearance, at a little distance off, of the surrounding villagers and country people, who

had assembled as lookers-on beyond the line of invisible fences and rural barriers, which skirted the lawn. But this rural scene, like many other enchantments, was destined soon to vanish; for alas! showers came on which drove us under the tents and into the mansion. At about five o'clock, we sat down in the latter to a *déjeûné à la fourchette*, and got back to town a little after night-fall, the road alive with the gay equipages of such a company.

July 25. Attend the Levee. The rooms are thronged, under excitements in the great world of London society at this season, from the coronation.

July 26. Dined at the King's. The dinner was given to the Special Ambassadors sent by their respective Sovereigns to do honor to the coronation, and to all the resident Diplomatic Corps, Ambassadors, and Ministers, but included none below the rank of Ministers Plenipotentiary. Of the Royal Dukes, there were present the Duke of York, Duke of Clarence, and Duke of Cambridge. The additional guests were, the Duke of Wellington, the Duke of Montrose, the Marquis of Londonderry, and Lord Francis Conyngham.

We were invited at seven o'clock. As my carriage turned into Pall Mall from the foot of



St. James's Street, the old clock at St. James's struck seven; and before I reached Carlton Palace, all the carriages appeared to be entering or coming out through the double gates of the Ionic screen in front of the Palace. Mine was among the last that drove up to the portico, and, by a very few minutes past seven, all the guests, save one, were assembled in the reception rooms. I had never before witnessed such punctuality at any dinner in England.

The King entered a minute or two afterwards, and saluted his guests generally, then went the rounds, speaking to each individually. With the Special Ambassadors he paused longest. Time had now run on to more than a quarter past seven. Still one of the guests had not yet arrived, and that one was the Duke of Wellington. The man not apt to be behind time when his Majesty's enemies were to be met, was, it seems, in meeting his friends. Five minutes more went by, and still no Duke of Wellington; critical moments, when each one seemed to count two! At length, in one of the rooms at a distance, the Duke was seen. He was dressed in the uniform of an Austrian Field Marshal, a plain round-about jacket of white cloth, and white under-dress to suit, relieved by scarcely anything but his sword. The dress being tight and simple, gave to his



person a thinner look than usual; and as he kept advancing with easy step, quite alone, and a general silence prevailing, the King separated himself from the group of Ambassadors, where he was standing, and, when he got near enough, stepped forward, to meet him. With both hands, he took the Duke by both, which he shook with great cordiality, saying something which the company could not hear, but which, from the manner, we took to be a good humored rally upon his late arrival. The Duke received it with placid composure, made no reply, but bowed. When liberated from the friendly grasp of the King, he approached a circle of which I happened to be one. One of the Ministers composing it said to him, "We hope you will forgive our little treason, my Lord Duke, but we have just been determining that as some one of the company was to be too late, it was best to have fallen to your Grace's lot, who can so well bear it." With a half whisper, and an arch smile, the Duke replied "The King knows I would have been here sooner, but for attending to some of his Majesty's business." This, considering the Duke as a Cabinet Minister and Privy Councillor, had doubtless been sufficient to cover his delinquency, and secure for him the very cordial reception all had witnessed.

Hardly had he uttered this little sentence, when dinner was announced. The King led the way; the Royal Dukes followed; then the Special Ambassadors, each taking precedence by the date of his arrival in London; then the Resident Corps and rest of the company, each having the *pas* under rules well known. All were in high official costume. The King took the middle of his table; the Marquis of Londonderry one end, and Count Munster, who, as Hanoverian Minister, has a sort of family rank at the English Court, the other end. In all, above thirty sat down to table. The King gave his chief attention to those near him, who were the Special Ambassadors. The ornaments down the middle of the table, and profusion of lights, intercepted the view of the guests across it. I was next to Lord Londonderry, and had some conversation with him. It touched upon Russia and Turkey; he expressed the hope that things in that quarter would end quietly, remarking that the Emperor was moderate; it touched upon English society also, and the remark dropped from him while on this theme, that the higher the rank and education, the better bred, as a general rule, their people in England—so he believed it was considered. Some conversation I also had with the Duke of Clarence, and the Duke of Montrose, on Ame-

rican steam-boats and the genius of Fulton. The former was inclined to claim Fulton as an Englishman; but I said that we could not surrender the honor of his birth for the United States.

The entire dinner service was of gold. I will allude to something which struck me among the smaller pieces—the salt-cellars. Each, as well as I could catch the design, represented a small rock, in dead gold, on which reclined a sea nymph holding in her hand a shell, which held the salt. One of these was before every two guests; so it was, as to number, with the golden coolers down the sides containing wine. The servants in the royal livery were abundant, and their quiet movements, seen rather than heard. The whole table, sideboard, and room, had an air of chaste and solid grandeur; not, however, interfering with the restrained enjoyments of a good dinner, of which the King seemed desirous that his foreign guests should in nowise be abridged, for we sat until past ten o'clock. When he moved, the company all rose, and, in the order in which we came to dinner, returned to the drawing-rooms, where coffee was handed. All repaired afterwards to a ball given by Princess Esterhazy in honor of the Coronation, the King's carriage going first.

July 27. Dined at the Duke of Wellington's. The card of invitation mentioned that it was to meet the King. His Majesty was there accordingly.

We had all the Special Ambassadors, as yesterday, at the King's; most of the resident Ambassadors and Ministers, and the Dukes of York, Clarence, and Cambridge; also the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Rutland, the Duke of Beaufort, the Duke of Montrose, the Marquis of Wellesley, the Earl of Liverpool (Premier), the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Maryborough, Lord Melville, and Field Marshal Lord Beresford. The whole company were in full, rich costume, as at the King's table.

I sat next to Lord Melville, and had Lord Maryborough on the other side. The former mentioned that the British Government had determined to publish all the Admiralty charts. The latter talked of our navy, of the equipments and discipline of which, I found that he was not unaware. And here I will take an incidental opportunity of saying, that whilst the bulk of the English scarcely know that an English ship was ever vanquished by an American, and whilst English authors have striven to prove by arithmetic how every battle between English and American ships attested superior merit in the English, I never heard an enlight-



ened English gentleman, and least of all, those of the higher classes, speak on the subject (one which I never introduced), who did not pay tribute to the skill and valor with which our ships were fought, and admit that theirs had been overcome with a rapidity and completeness, out of all proportion to the excess of force on our side, when excess existed; but they commonly added, that the discipline and equipment of our ships had taken them by surprise, which, they said, would not be likely to occur again. "A Roman myself, I am overcome by a Roman."

I return to the dinner. The table service was brilliant. It lighted up better than the King's, for being entirely of silver and very profuse, the whole aspect was of pure, glittering white; unlike the slightly shaded tinges which candles seem to cast from gold plate. When the dessert came, there were different sets of beautiful china, one a present to the Duke from the King of France, the other from the Emperor of Austria.

The King sat on the right hand of the Duke. Just before the dessert courses, the Duke gave his Majesty as a toast. The guests all rose, and drank it in silence, the King also rising and bowing to the company. A few minutes after, the King gave the Duke of Wellington, intro-

ducing his toast with a few remarks. The purport of them was, that had it not been for the exertions of his friend upon his left, it was so that he spoke of the Duke, he, the King, might not have had the happiness of meeting those whom he now saw around him at that table; it was therefore with particular pleasure that he proposed his health. The King spoke his words with emphasis, and great apparent pleasure. The Duke made no reply, but took in respectful silence what was said. The King continued sitting whilst he spoke, as did the company, in profound stillness under his words.

I thought of Johnson when George III. complimented him. The innate dignity of great minds is the same. In Johnson it was that of the rough virtuous recluse — whose greatness was that of the author. In Wellington it was externally moulded into the ease which armies, and courts, and long association with the *élite* of mankind may be supposed to give. Johnson did not “bandy civilities” with his Sovereign, whom he had never seen before; nor did Wellington, who saw him every day.

The dinner over, coffee was served in the drawing-rooms. At about eleven o'clock the King, the Duke, and all the company went to a ball at Almack's, given in honor of the

Coronation, by the Special Ambassador from France, the Duke de Grammont; and whatever French taste, directed by a Grammont, could do to render the night agreeable was witnessed. His suite of young gentlemen from Paris stood ready to receive the British fair on their first approach to the rooms; and from baskets of flowers presented them with rich bouquets. Each lady thus entered the ball-room with one in her hand; and a thousand bouquets displayed their hues and exhaled their fragrance as the dancing commenced.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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